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YOUR Donation Will Make a Change

Rhetoric Discourse Analysis on Charity Campaign Marketing

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This master's thesis examines charity campaigning in the market-oriented environment of postmodern societies. Contemporary societies build upon markets, and even charity organizations have adopted business logic in their actions. Market competition is intense, as charity organizations compete over the attention of private donors. Charity marketing is often targeted to individuals, reflecting the general trends of individualization in the postmodern era. Individuals are regarded the primary actors in the forums of society, politics and markets, and freedom of choice can be applied almost everywhere from lifestyle to consumer decisions – also in charity participation.

In this research, charity campaign participation is treated from the perspective of individual decision-making. Charity is considered as an everyday consumer decision that represents a form of political consumerism. In addition, charity participation is understood to be an element of personal self-expression and identity-building. Individuals demonstrate personal needs in the market, and businesses and organizations meet these needs by offering personalized solutions. This research seeks evidence of the processes of individualization and marketization in charity campaigning and discusses the meaning of these phenomenon for campaign audiences and charity organizations.

The research takes place in the context of Finland, and the data of the research consists of poster marketing of the Finnish Red Cross Hunger Day campaign from the period of 1981–2018. With the analytical focus in marketing language and style, the campaign posters are analysed with methods of discourse analysis and visual rhetoric analysis. The results of the analysis suggest that the campaign marketing strives to meet individualistic needs by offering campaign participants a selection of desirable status roles to identify with. Charity marketing appears consumer-oriented and strategic in a business sense. With these findings, the research aims to contribute in the recent discussion on the changing role of non-profit organizations in the postmodern consumer societies. In addition, the research wishes to offer fresh viewpoints on political consumerism, by treating charity participation as a form of politically aware decision-making in the market.

Keywords: charity campaigning, charity participation, markets of charity, political consumerism

The originality of this thesis has been checked using the Turnitin Originality Check service.

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1. Introduction

In postmodern societies, nearly everything can become a product. Business thinking is not just applied in corporate settings, but it is increasingly adopted in social and private spheres of life. It is easy to find business rhetoric far outside of the scope of traditional markets. Today, even a person can build themselves a ‘brand’ (see, e.g., Peters 1997; Korteso 2011). Contemporary lifestyles are characterized by lifelong self-projects of identity-building and self-expression, and societies are designed to offer personalized products and services to meet individualistic needs. An individual is recognized a central actor in market and society, and everyone is expected to lead their own lives. (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim 2002, 22–23; Stolle & Micheletti 2013, 31.)

In the Finnish welfare society, the role of ‘a citizen’ has moved towards the role of ‘a consumer’. (Saari 2017, 480). In the contemporary ‘welfare mix’ model, welfare responsibilities are shared between public and private service providers, non-governmental organizations (NGO’s) and private households. Freedom of choice has become a common element in welfare provision, and citizens are expected to actively make choices between and within different service providers. (Julkunen 2006, 66, 105–108, 202–203.) Objectives of health and wellbeing are now connected with business principles such as ‘cost-efficiency’ and ‘competitiveness’ in the markets of welfare (Anttonen, Häikiö & Raitakari 2013; Julkunen 2006, 84–87). In general, the Finnish institutional structure has become increasingly market-based (Saari 2017, 479–484).

With public services being outsourced and decentralized, the request for alternative service providers and additional safety nets has increased (Julkunen 2006, 62, 105–108). Growing emphasis is now placed on voluntary contributions, and more political responsibility-taking is expected from civil society actors and businesses (Julkunen 2006, 119, 152). The political and economic environment has allowed new growth for Finnish non-governmental organizations. There are various organizations operating in the national and international arenas, and different organizations compete with each other to maintain success in the field. Organizations are largely based on voluntary participation, which makes it essential for them to receive support from private citizens. (Johansson 2017, 274; Kuvaja 2010, 54; Julkunen 2006, 105, 122–123.) Different organizations offer a range of options for voluntary work and political influence-making, and individuals can choose whether they want to take part in them.

In this research, the above institutional changes are examined from the perspective of non-profit charity organizations and their campaign audiences in Finland. Over the past decades, Finnish charity

organizations have grown exponentially, and they have adopted the environment of competitiveness (Johansson 2017, 127–130). Today, charity is ‘sold’ to consumers with strategic tools of advertising, and charity causes are selected based on what sells the best (Johansson 2017, 96, 212–222; King 2006, 42–55). Hence, this research agrees that contemporary charity organizations have become more business-oriented, and that market competition has influenced in charity marketing. The focus of the research is on campaign marketing practices, and the analytical interest is in the marketing rhetoric that attempts to engage with consumers. Marketing has become a central activity of the present-day organizations, and hence its mechanisms are worth of studying.

In this research, audiences of charity marketing are assumed to consist of private individuals, and these private individuals are believed to have a central role in charity marketing. The act of charity participation is connected to acts of individual self-expression and decision-making in the forums of society and market. The research data consists of Finnish Red Cross Hunger Day campaign material, and the research aims to answer the following question: How is the role of an individual participant represented in the Hunger Day campaign discourses?

The theoretical point of departure is on theories of postmodern processes. In the context of postmodernity or late modernity, individuals are placed in the spotlight of all social and political action in the globalized and constantly changing world. The theoretical framework is largely based on Ulrich Beck’s theories on institutionalised individualization and on Stuart Hall’s understanding of postmodern identity. Charity campaigns and charity participation are evaluated against this individual-oriented background. In studying charity participation from the consumer aspect, Michele Micheletti’s writings offer theoretical perspectives to political consumer decision-making. Discussions of the Finnish charity markets owe much to Frank Johansson’s recent work on the subject. The research in hand wishes to produce new knowledge on the topic of charity marketization, and to add perspectives of political consumerism into the discussions of charity campaign participation.

The beginning of the paper provides an overview of the political context of the study. In chapters two and three, charity campaigning is theoretically discussed from the individualized and marketized perspectives of postmodernity. Chapter four introduces the research data as well as the methodological tools used in the analysis. The actual analysis is divided in two sections that are presented in chapters five and six. Chapter five addresses the part of visual rhetoric analysis, and chapter six addresses the section of discourse analysis. The results are brought together in the final chapter that discusses the wider political relevance of the results in the field of charity.

2. Changing the world in a changing political context

2.1. Postmodernity: Where only constant in society is change

The contemporary world is defined by continuous change and unpredictability. The old paradigms of ‘modernity’ no longer apply, since the world they describe has changed. Social environments have become increasingly complex, and the contemporary world cannot be explained by traditional categories of social classes, gender or religion. Consequently, introduction of theories of ‘postmodernity’ or ‘late modernity’ have taken place. (Bauman 1996; Giddens 1991.) The contemporary institutional transformations have been described with various concepts, but the different concepts refer to the fundamentally same process: the fragmentation and movement of social systems (Mustonen & Honkanen 2005, 99). In this research, the concept of ‘postmodernity’ is systematically used for clarity when referring to these processes.

In general, postmodern times are characterized by large-scale processes of individualization, globalization, and marketization (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim 2002, 25, 33; Firat, & Dholakia 2006; Micheletti 2003, 5, 10). These developments have significantly changed the contemporary social environments. Individual subjects have become the center of social and political activity, and traditional policy models have been increasingly accompanied with non-parliamentary participation. More decision-making power is shifted from governments to global arenas, corporations, and private individuals, and increasing responsibility is placed on the voluntary contributions of civil society actors. (Stolle & Micheletti 2013, 14–15, 24–25; Micheletti 2003, 5–6.) At the same time, postmodern societies have become significantly consumption-driven, and some argue that consumption-based answers are offered to solve any problem (van Gorp 2005, 128; Wirgau, Farley & Jensen 2010, 613; Miller and Rose 1997, 1–2). In the following pages, these postmodern changes are discussed in detail.

2.2. The Changing nature of decision-making

Governments have traditionally been entrusted with the authority for political problem-solving, but their ability to address postmodern challenges has recently been questioned. Today, political matters are increasingly taking place in global settings, which generates new challenges for identifying and solving problems. Global problem-solving requires involving multiple stakeholders, as the crises in

environment, economy and public health concern more than just one government. Developing and ratifying international law has been suggested as one solution for the recent global concerns, although political reforms could be initiated in all policy-making levels. (Young 2000, 267–270; Stolle & Micheletti 2013, 14, 24–25; Micheletti 2003, 5–6.)

In the era of globalization, businesses and corporations have acquired more political power than before (Stolle & Micheletti 2013, 26–27; Young 2000, 188; Chandler & Mazlish 2005, 10–11). Reforms in international markets have allowed corporations to become increasingly transnational and powerful. Many corporate actors have experienced dramatic growth developments in the past decades, and the largest corporations already possess more capital than some sovereign countries. (Stolle & Micheletti 2013, 26–27, Chandler & Mazlish 2005, 26–28, 33.) In international settings, the sources of political responsibility have become challenging to track. Some are concerned that lack of proper management may lead to no one taking political responsibility in the global markets. Corporations and businesses are increasingly asked to engage voluntarily in political responsibility-taking. (Stolle & Micheletti 2013, 28–30; the UNDP et al. 2002, 2–6, 108.)

In the changing political environment, the general trust in traditional government institutions has declined (Micheletti 2003, 6, 9). Individual people continue to demand political solutions, but they more often turn to alternative ways of policy-making to express their concerns. Therefore, new direct forms of ‘do-it-yourself’ participation have emerged, and individual actors have acquired a more visible role as decision-makers. (Stolle & Micheletti 2013, 14–15.) Individuals can personally act on the social and political issues they deem to be important and morally valuable, and they can campaign or protest on their own. In addition, private people can have direct political openings in their everyday life. People can make political choices when they go shopping or decide what to make for dinner, and they can believe their decisions matter even in a global level. (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim 2002, 45–47; Cherry 2006, 155–156; Stolle & Micheletti 2013, 32–33.) Hence, Ulrich Beck (2002) argues that being politically self-organized gives a possibility to renegotiate the traditional roles between individuals and the society, between the non-political and political. Today, political change can emerge from the formerly non-political spheres of life. (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim 2002, 45–47, 65.)

New forms of political decision-making emphasise voluntary participation and the element of choice. People are offered more freedom to choose over different services and lifestyles, and anyone can regulate their personal commitment in voluntary activities. The element of choice gives individuals more political say, which is believed to satisfy their individual identity-building and lifestyle needs. Political engagement generates personal feelings of empowerment, and it may further increase

citizen's political participation. (Stolle & Micheletti 2013, 31–33.) However, with the growing personal freedom, people are also expected to take growing responsibility.

Ulrich Beck (2002) argues that the contemporary Western societies have established an environment of 'institutionalized individualism'. Societies are increasingly individual-oriented and globalized, and the era is marked by freedom and flexibility. According to Beck, the development of individualization entails prospects, but it also generates risks. Freedom of choice is accompanied with new social insecurity, since everyone needs to account for their own successes and failures. (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim 2002, 24–29, 45–51.) Some are concerned that institutionalized individualism may lead to turning structural problems into private issues for individuals to take care of (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim 2002, 45–47, 65).

In this research, the concept of 'individualization' is treated separately from the concept of 'individualism'. Here, the concept of individualization is used to illustrate the institutional processes that highlight individual autonomy in contemporary societies. Although emphasising the individual-oriented institutional structure of the time, the concept of individualization does not overlook the significance of social interdependency. In comparison, the concept of individualism is commonly limited to self-interested values and activities, often in the neoliberal sense of the free-market individuals. (Bauman 2002; Stolle & Micheletti 2013, 39.)

In addition, acknowledging the processes of individualization is not to say that community values would have vanished. Vice versa, Hautamäki et al. (2005) argue that sense of community is becoming stronger in the contemporary era, of which the growing support towards civil society organizations is a great example. Thus, Hautamäki et al. suggest that the 1990's might have been dominated by egocentric values and by excessive consumption, but the present day is showing signs of the new becoming of communality. Nonetheless, they argue that contemporary communities are different from the past communities. Communities do not have to be based on face-to-face encounters, but interaction can take place in international arenas or on virtual platforms. Today, there is more choice and flexibility in communities, but also more insecurity. Choosing between different communities can also be seen as an element of identity-building. (Hautamäki et al. 2005, 7–10.) Next, the contemporary processes of individual identity-building and self-expression are discussed in detail.

2.3. Postmodern person: a lifelong self-project

As argued in the previous chapter, the developments of individualization characterize the postmodern era. In this era, societies are no longer distinguished by class differences, religion, family, or traditions - but by an ideal of individuality. Therefore, individuals have become the main agents in postmodern societies. Individuals are offered more options of action than ever before, and they are given more freedom of choice in making decisions. Possible lifestyles have become endless, and the central desire of the time is to get to live a 'life of one's own'. Hence, individuals are actively seeking self-fulfilment, personalized experiments, and individual achievement. (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim 2002, 22–23.)

In the increasingly individualized world, identity-building has become a central element of individual action (van Gorp 2005, 127; Adams 2006, 511–513). According to Stuart Hall (1999), the idea of 'identity' has always been a human-made invention. With the world changing, the understanding of identity has changed as well. (Hall 1999, 11–13, 19.) Therefore, defining identity is challenging. There is no all-encompassing definition for identity, because the concept is fluid by nature. However, most definitions share the idea that identity is a subjective idea of self. Stuart Hall defines identity as a fictive narrative of self that is constructed in relation to the ideas of the outside world. (Hall 1999, 11–13.) Other conceptualizations define identity as an internal self-structure or a subjective sense of oneself. Identity constitutes of various elements of personal history, beliefs and values, and of the personal evaluation of individual capabilities and possibilities. Identity is often understood to be a dynamic process instead of a stable condition, and identity is understood to be explored and negotiated in relation to other people. (Marcia 1980, 159–160; Grotevant & Cooper 1986, 86.)

Stuart Hall argues that the social changes of the late 1900's have led to a significant fragmentation of identities (Hall 1999, 36, 44). The processes of globalization have shortened geographical and cultural distances, and possible identities are almost unlimited (Hall 1999, 20–28, 43–61; van Gorp 2005, 127). Identities are continuously reproduced by the impacts of culture, language, and history, which makes identities vague and constantly moving. Person's identity is expected to develop and change during their lifetime, even from one situation to another. Individuals can choose to adopt identities that appeal to them, or that speak to certain sides of their character. The same person can adopt different identities – even mutually conflicting identities. Stuart Hall believes that is not possible for a person to ever gain a stable and finished identity in their life. (Hall 1999, 14–16, 23, 62.) Therefore, Hall calls the post-modern era the time of 'post-identity', where identities are so fragmented they

became impossible to determine (Hall 1999, 21). Other scholars argue that instead of speaking of a person's 'identity', one should speak about 'identities' in plural (van Gorp, 2005, 132).

Despite being a personal project, identity-formation is inherently social. Identity-formation entails an important collective function, since identities are actualized in other people's recognition. Therefore, expressing identities can be seen as a form of social communication. (van Gorp 2005, 130–131; Burnkrant & Cousineau 1975.) People form the idea of themselves in the processes of assimilation and differentiation with other people (Hall 1999, 11–16, 22, 41). In many occasions, expressing identities is a battle between the independent and interdependent sides of the self – between the sides that one wants to distinguish and to assimilate. Whereas the independent self wants to be unique, the interdependent self wants to belong. (Mandel 2003, 31.) The same person can move between both sides of self, depending on the situation (Nielsen 2005, 94; van Gorp 2005, 127).

In addition, some scholars have distinguished between the 'on stage' identities that are visible to other people, and the 'off stage' identities that are performed outside other people's watch. In other people's company, individuals attempt to 'maintain face' and to present a socially appropriate image of themselves. (Goffman 1955, 213–217.) Malhotra (1981) further differentiates between 'the actual self, the social self, and the ideal self'. The actual self is closest to the 'real' identity that the person is believed to have, whereas the social self is only expressed in interaction, and the ideal self is something that the person would want to be. Sometimes, a fourth identity is added on the list to describe the kind of not-wanted self. (van Gorp 2005 134; Malhotra 1981, 461.)

Altogether, postmodern identities are multi-layered and constantly moving. Even though identities are no longer clearly definable in the post-modern era, Stuart Hall (1999) argues that identities continue to matter. The individualized desire for identification is widely recognized, and identification is now utilized as a political strategy to engage with people. In contemporary societies, the fragmented identities allow the playing of 'identity-games'. (Hall 1999, 15–16, 43.) For example, in political elections, campaign organizers can predict the probable identification of the voters. The voter can identify with a political party, but they can also identify with other personal and political attributes of the candidate, such as their gender and ethnicity. Options of identification are many, and the outcome is based on the strength of identification with different attributes. (Hall 1999, 27–28.) In this research, charity participation is discussed from the perspectives of political consumer identification and self-expression, as to be presented later.

2.4. Consumption: Mechanism of self-expression

In postmodern societies, individual identity is expressed in personal decision-making. Various daily decisions are made in lifestyle, commodities, social relationships and media and information-seeking. (Stolle & Micheletti 2013, 32–33.) In the market-oriented environment, consumer decisions have become central elements of individual self-expression and identity formation (Miller & Rose 1997, 1–2; Nielsen 2005, 79; van Gorp 2005, 130). Expressing identity through consumption has become a way of making one's identity concrete and visible for self and for others (van Gorp 2005, 137).

Hence, shopping is not only to fulfil basic needs - it is also used as means of communication. The decisions to purchase or not to purchase something can demonstrate a certain identity or a specific lifestyle choice. (Mustonen & Honkanen 2005, 97–99, Nielsen 2005, 79.) However, consumption is not only material, since experiences, ideologies or politics can be also consumed to express identity and lifestyle choices (Mustonen & Honkanen 2005, 101; Sennett 2007, 133). These decisions often represent the 'ideal self' that a person wants other people to notice as well (van Gorp 2005, 134–137). Therefore, the symbolic function of products has become at least as important as the practical use of products (van Gorp 2005, 140–141).

Acknowledging the individual desire of self-realization, market actors have begun to offer personalized products for consumers. Businesses adopt identification strategies as they advertise products with ideas of personal style, exoticism and uniqueness. Products are designed to attract specific target groups, and the goal is to generate desirable associations with the product. Hence, corporates use their image (brand, logo, slogans, etc.) to distinguish from other actors and to engage with consumers. (Micheletti 2013, 29–33; Knight and Greenberg 2002, 545–546; Firat, & Dholakia 2006, 124; Mustonen & Honkanen 2005, 98–99.) For instance, sports brands utilize positive images of athletics and health in order to promote fitness lifestyles, but they also sell ideas of being 'cool' or 'fashionable' in terms of clothing (Knight and Greenberg 2002, 545).

As an outcome, markets are filled with individualized products instead of standardized production, which has led some of the consumers concerned about the social and environmental consequences of the excessive mass production (Micheletti 2003, 11; Micheletti 2013, 29–31). According to Michele Micheletti (2003), consumption adopts elements of political self-expression in these situations. Consumers can make value-based choices in the market to express their notions of good and fair choices. For example, consumers can make decisions between producers and commodities to support or boycott a certain brand or a product. (Micheletti 2003, 2–5; Micheletti 2013, 33–39, 44–45.) Michele Micheletti (2013) calls these actions the practicing of 'political consumerism'.

Hence, the individual agency of a postmodern citizen is often described as an agency of a ‘citizen-consumer’ (Micheletti 2013, 33–34). The focus on consumers reflects the general marketized environment of the era, but it also highlights the importance of consumption in individual identity-building and political decision-making. According to Micheletti, political consumerism has become a significant form of new grassroots responsibility-taking (Micheletti 2013, 26, 38–39). Anthony Giddens (1994, 57–58) has also noted that the private consumer decisions of people on food and clothes can eventually accumulate to make even a global difference.

Of course, the practices of political consumerism vary greatly. Individual consumer choices can be based on the ideas of common good or self-interest, and the actions can range from occasional decisions to being strongly committed to certain lifestyles. (Micheletti 2003, 11–12; Micheletti 2013, 35–37.) In addition, not all consumer behaviour entails elements of identity-building or political activity. Altogether, consumer behaviour is difficult to interpret. The actual motivation behind consumption is nearly impossible to detect, since people cannot always explain their behaviour even themselves. People do not work like machines, and their behaviour cannot be assumed to follow clear patterns. (van Gorp 2005, 128, 138–143.) However, this does not change that consumption has become a visible tool for self-expression and political activity in the postmodern era. The present day, ideas of consumerism have also been introduced in increasingly business-oriented charity marketing, as to be presented in the next chapter.

3. Marketization: When charity becomes a business

Traditionally, charity organizations have been considered distinct from market principles such as growth and consumer orientation. In general, organizational activities have been defined by internal missions and not by external market impacts. (Kashif, Sarifuddin & Hassan 2015, 91.) However, in postmodern consumer societies, even charity has marketized. This development has recently been addressed by various scholars who have written about the ‘markets of generosity’ or the ‘marketized philanthropy’ (see, e.g., Hopgood & Vinjamuri 2012; Johansson 2017; King 2006; Nickel & Eikenberry 2009). In the processes of charity marketization, charitable organizations have become business-like, and consumption has become a form of helping. Expressions of generosity are materialized in consumer choices: the support towards an important cause can be demonstrated in buying an item or participating in an event. For example, purchasing a pink ribbon for breast cancer awareness or taking part in a fundraising run have become visible forms of consumeristic charity participation. (King 2006, 25–26, 44–45, 91–92; Nickel & Eikenberry 2009, 978; Bajde 2013, 3–6; Wirgau, Farley & Jensen 2010, 620–624.)

Recent scholars have argued that charity organizations have adopted business thinking in their operations. For example Johansson (2017) and Hopgood and Vinjamuri (2012) have illustrated the ways how contemporary charities have started to remind businesses. In the field of charity, the competition between different actors is intense, creating a brand is important, and maximising the earnings and minimizing the expenditures is crucial (Johansson 2017, 10, 110, 202; Hopgood & Vinjamuri 2012, 39). Fundraising campaigns are frequent, and the campaigns are based on careful marketing strategies. Charity organizations utilize marketing and communications specialists whose responsibility is to enhance the visibility and the market performance of the organization. Marketing is directed to specific target audiences, and strategic instruments are used in advertisements to attract potential donors. (Johansson 2017, 23, 189–190; Vestergaard 2014, 510–511.) For these scholars, the above practices prove that charity is ‘sold’ in the market like any other commodity. In market terms, helping the vulnerable has become a ‘product’. (Hopgood & Vinjamuri 2012, 39; Johansson 2017, 7, 202; Krause 2014, 40.)

Frank Johansson (2017) states that these developments are connected to the greater neoliberalist ideology of the 21st century, in which markets are seen as the key driver of society (Johansson 2017, 7–8, 21). Markets are based on open competition, and growth in the market is seen as a vital condition for development. Civil society organizations are not isolated from the markets, and therefore the rules of the market apply for them as well. Consequently, charity organizations have integrated the principles of ‘growth’ and ‘competition’ in their actions. (Johansson 2017, 13, 96, 156–157.) Charity organizations compete to maintain their position in the field, because they all depend on the limited donations given by individual donors. Charity organizations also strive for growth, because the bigger they become, the better are their chances of survival. (Johansson 2017, 96–97, 108–110, 274; Hopgood & Vinjamuri 2012, 37–38.) When looking at revenue numbers of charity organizations, a significant growth pattern is already visible. International development cooperation has become a business worth of billion dollars, and remarkable growth in charity organizations has taken place in Finland as well. (Carbonnier 2015, 37; Kuvaja 2010, 46; Johansson 2017, 8–10, 127–133.)

With this much resemblance with traditional businesses, Banks, Hulme and Edwards (2015, 709) have argued that charity organizations in the present day are technically closer to ‘socially responsible market actors’ than mere actors of goodwill. Whether or not charity organizations should actually be considered businesses remains a controversial topic. Charity advertising has become business-

oriented, but the ‘consumption’ of charity still remains different from most other products in the market. The ‘product of help’ is not used by the buyer themselves, but by someone else - although the buyer might receive personal fulfilment from helping others. (Johansson 2017, 10; Hopgood & Vinjamuri 2012, 39; King 2006, 44–45; Krause 2014, 40–41.)

Carbonnier (2015) further points out that the market rules of supply and demand cannot be applied to charity as such. There will always be more demand for help than any organization can supply, and therefore the demand cannot be fully satisfied. In addition, the demand of help fluctuates unpredictably due to occurrence of crises and disasters. Ultimately, the levels of supply depend on people’s willingness to donate money in a given time. Hence, even if structurally moving closer to businesses, charity organizations represent a special branch in the market. (Carbonnier 2015, 45–46; Johansson 2017, 10.) Altogether, the purpose of charity fundraising is not to generate profit, but to collect resources for charitable work and humanitarian aid (Hopgood & Vinjamuri 2012, 39).

Hopgood and Vinjamuri (2012) argue that the specific nature of charity work can be used as an advantage to promote charity. Charity branding relies on positive identification: organizations make selective branding decisions to promote their cause-related identity to consumers. The organizations attempt to engage with potential donors and members by offering ideas of identification to match consumer preferences. Hopgood and Vinjamuri argue that charity branding is highly calculated. For example, some international organizations tend to present themselves differently in different countries: they promote religious identity in more religious countries, and more secular identity in secularized countries. Hopgood and Vinjamuri argue that this kind of ‘humanitarian branding’ might be successful to generate more funds for different organizations, but it may also further intensify the competition between charity organizations. (Hopgood & Vinjamuri 2012, 40–42.) Very often, charity work is marketed with ideas of morality (Johansson 2017, 184). In the next chapter, the moral and altruistic motivations of charity participation are discussed in detail.

3.1. Charity participation: giving to others – or to yourself?

In social and behavioural sciences, the human motivation to help others has been a topic of interest for decades. The motivation to give has been studied from the perspectives of culture, religion and human and civil rights (see, e.g., Frenkel & Lev, 2009; Sandu & Caras 2013; Calleja-Ragonesi et al. 2014; Kashif et al. 2015) to name a few. The initial roots of charity have been traced back to religious values, and the legacy of religion is argued to show in the contemporary emphasis on human rights

(Sandu & Caras 2013, 73–78, 89–90; Calleja-Ragonesi et al. 2014, 101–104). Yet, recent studies have acknowledged that postmodern shifts have weakened the traditional categories such as religious systems and have led to new combinations of religious, secularized, and individualized values in charity (Sandu & Caras 2013, 72–73; Kashif et al. 2015, 92).

To examine the motivations of charitable giving, some have attempted to find behavioural patterns based on cultural differences, age, and gender. However, Kashif et al. (2015) argue that such behavioural models have not yet proven applicable in explaining charity participation (Kashif et al. 2015, 91–92). In postmodern contexts, the motivation of charity participation appears to rise from various personal sources that emerge differently in different situations. One of the most prominent debates of the present day is the tension between selfish and altruistic motives of voluntary giving.

Individuals have become the primary actors in society, which has made the personal projects of individual identity-building and self-expression increasingly important. Many have questioned, whether the increasing focus on individual subjectivity has also promoted self-centred action. The question arises if the values of individuality and solidarity can coexist in the individualized world (Wuthnow 1991, 21). In this research, charity participation is understood as a two-way process that benefits both the receiver and the giver (Kuvaja 2010, 184).

Bauman (2002) argues that the theoretic idea of individualization does not necessarily imply that the world would revolve around selfishness. The idea of individualization suggests that the structures of society emphasise the individual right and responsibility to make personal decisions. Personal values can be individualistic, but they can also be altruistic. Applying Bauman's terms, charity participation in the era of individualization could represent a form of 'altruistic individualism'. (Bauman 2002, xiv-xix.) Similarly, Teija Mikkola (2003) states that being self-oriented does not necessarily mean only caring about oneself. The essence of 'the self-project' is the freedom of making personal choices and determining the values important for self. Hence, self-oriented people might also want to support the values of common good. (Mikkola 2003, 51–53, 305.) In fact, some scholars argue that individualistic values may even foster participation in charitable actions such as development cooperation. The weakening of group-related identities may lead to individuals becoming more interested in the people outside of their 'own' group. (Leskinen 2011, 98, 109.)

In practice, personal values vary in different occasions. People might not support the same values in the level of society and in their own life. (Mikkola 2003, 53.) For example, Finnish value surveys reveal an interesting phenomenon: people tend to state that everyone should take care of themselves,

but they still actively help others in their own lives. According to the Finland's Slot Machine association (RAY) survey from 2008, people highlight the welfare responsibility of private individuals, and many of them think that the Finnish social security system has passivating effects. (Pessi 2008, 22–24.) However, the same time, Finnish people are reportedly very active when it comes to helping others (Pessi 2008, 48). Most of the help is given to close family, but people are also eager to help their relatives, neighbours and even strangers. Every third Finnish person takes part in voluntary work, and majority of the people donate to charity. (Pessi 2008, 52, 60.)

Ultimately, everyone is free to determine their personal understanding of social responsibility. There is no global code of moral, and the subjective feelings of concern over others can change according to personal mood or the current context. Giving money to charity is always a choice, since there is no obligation to donate. This means that it is easy to find reasons to act, or not to act, in different situations. (Vaux 2013, 2–3, 202–205; Kuvaja 2010, 71.) Therefore, individual motivation is the driving force of all charitable actions. When it comes to charity participation, motivation can be found in different sources.

For example, Sari Kuvaja (2010) argues that the willingness to help other people might rise from the initial awareness that other people are suffering, but it might also rise from personal interests (Kuvaja 2010, 184–185). In addition, Tony Vaux (2013) adopts a rather pessimistic view in stating that altruism is always selfish. According to Vaux, people are selfish by nature, and they have tendency to think of themselves first. Although expressing a genuine concern over those whose suffer, people might be relieved that misfortunes did not happen to them. (Vaux 2013, 1.) Moreover, when giving to others, people often expect to get something in return. Individuals doing voluntary work or donating to charity often seek to feel better for themselves by helping others. Helping others may generate feelings of joy and pleasure, a sense of purpose and being needed by other people. Helping can also be done to mitigate own unpleasant feelings such as guilt or bad conscience. (Kuvaja 2010, 47–54, 71–72.)

For some, helping is an element of identity-building and self-expression. Helping others can be used to demonstrate one's personality to self and to others. For instance, an individual may want to identify as a good person and would like others to see them as an unselfish actor. (Kuvaja 2010, 71–72.) For some, charity participation is an expression of one's commitment to religious values or moral duty (Sandu & Caras 2013, 75–76, 83–85). Also, some people want to distinguish from others by participating in charity and doing voluntary work. When the general income level is already high, more people have access to luxury lifestyles. This means that expressing material lifestyles does not

necessarily make people special, and the sense of uniqueness and self-fulfilment must be found somewhere else. (Wuthnow 1991, 34, 235, 265.) In general, the impact of other people is important. Peer pressure, role models, and personal stories of people can all influence in the individual decisions to help others. (Stolle & Micheletti 2013, 35–36.) Finally, people need to have a sense of agency in order to act, and they need to feel that their decisions matter (Stolle & Micheletti 2013, 36–37). In the context of charity, people are more likely to donate money if they believe that their donation will actually make a change in the lives of others (Kuvaja 2010, 71).

3.2. Charity marketing: Strategic methods to engage with donors

As discussed in the previous chapter, individual charity participation can be explained with a range of personally originating motives. The general patterns of charity participation are challenging to determine, which makes it difficult for charity organizations to know how to attract donors (Kashif et al. 2015, 91–92). However, organizations need to find ways to connect with potential donors, since they depend on private funding. For many organizations, even half or more of their general funding comes from private donations. (see, e.g. Johansson 2017, 115–120.) Organizations are aware that the commitment of private people is often short-term, and that people might shift to support another organization rather easily (Kuvaja 2010, 52, 71). Several researchers have identified commonly used marketing strategies that charity organizations use to engage with their audiences and to distinguish from other organizations.

In general, the marketing style of charity organizations is often intentionally thought-provoking. Above all, marketing messages should be powerful enough to catch the interest of an individual and to generate their willingness to participate. Sari Kuvaja (2010) argues that people are more willing to help when they can personally empathize with the person in need. In the end, people do not necessarily base their decision on who would actually need the help the most. Rather, they decide to donate for who generates the most sympathy in them. Therefore, many charity organizations rely on sharing stories and pictures of groups of people that are known to receive sympathy from the audience. These people are often associated with vulnerability. For Finnish donors, the groups that are reported to receive the highest support are children, elderly people and women of developing countries. (Kuvaja 2010, 20–21, 50, 63.)

Among others, Johansson (2017) has argued that the marketing style in charity campaigning is often simplistic. Factual knowledge on people's needs is shared, but the message is simplified. Fundraising advertisements rarely go into detail in explaining the complex roots of war and inequality in the background of humanitarian suffering. Hence, charity marketing seems to follow the more general tendencies of mass media in providing knowledge about developing countries. According to Fair (1996, 1) the media coverage of Africa tends to reduce the whole continent and its population into the ideas of pain and suffering. Frank Johansson (2017) explains that simplified messages are easy to deliver to audiences: everyone can see the pain of a starving child without further explanation. Johansson sees the marketing thinking behind this: the message reproduces a simple dichotomy of helpers and givers, and it puts the donor in a favourable position. However, Johansson finds these tendencies problematic when occurring continuously. While focusing on the images of 'humanitarian heroes', they same time deny the part that the Westerns countries have had in causing some of the problems. (Johansson 2017, 7–11, 61, 95, 212.)

Overall, charity marketing has traditionally trusted in simple and emotional messages. Much of the marketing has focused on humanitarian suffering, and pictures have played a great part in charity advertising. Using pictures of other people's misery has been regarded an effective way to bring geographically distant events closer to people by showing the 'face' of suffering. (Kuvaja 2010, 20–21, 179–180; Johansson 2017, 214.) The attention of audiences has been gained with feelings of guilt and concern. However, some argue that the more recent marketing has already challenged these strategies and has introduced more positive perspectives in charity marketing. Charity marketing of the postmodern era becomes increasingly 'post-humanitarian' in a sense that is directs more focus from victims to help-givers. In addition, marketing audiences are more often attempted to engage with positive rather than negative messages. Today, charity marketing relies more on role models and positive identification with people who deliver help or with the celebrities who support the campaigns. (Johansson 2017, 24, 225–229.)

To improve the results of fundraising and to generate lasting donor relationships, more knowledge of the effectiveness of different fundraising methods would be needed. However, not much research has conducted about charity participation from the perspective of consumption. Hibbert and Horne (1997) are one of the rare researchers who have studied charity participation as a consumer decision. Hibbert and Horne argue that since donating money includes an economic aspect, it is reasonable to consider donor behaviour from a consumer perspective. They argue that donating money to charity includes the basic steps of making any consumer decision: recognizing a need, comparing the available options, and evaluating the outcome after making the purchase. (Hibbert & Horne 1997, 262.) In this

research, my analysis on charity poster marketing will join in this discussion by combining charity participation with the ideas of individualized self-expression and political consumerism. In this study, marketing material from the Finnish Red Cross organization will be used in the analysis.

3.3. The Biggest actor in charity markets: The Red Cross organization

The biggest charity organization in the world is the International Red Cross organization (see, e.g. Johansson 2017, 121). The organization was first established in 1863 by Genevan Henry Dunant (Hytönen 2002, 11, 243). At the time of its establishment, the Red Cross was a global pioneer of humanitarian aid, since there were no prior examples of similar international organizations. Hence, the Red Cross was a predecessor of later global organizations, such as the United Nations. (Hytönen 2002, 9, 247.)

The Red Cross movement was first set up as a coalition to protect wounded soldiers in battles. Values of political neutrality and mitigating human suffering were core principles of the organization, and the same values continue to exist today. (Hytönen 2002, 6-10, 28-29.) The current form of the principles of the international Red Cross were officially listed in 1961. The principles of the Red Cross are ‘humanity, impartiality, neutrality, independence, voluntary service, unity and universality’. These fundamental principles highlight the commitment to protect human dignity in all circumstances, despite people’s nationality, religion, race or the political orientation. (Hytönen 2002, 28-29; Rosén 2002, 463-464.)

The Finnish department of the Red Cross is part of the international Red Cross movement. The Finnish Red Cross (Suomen Punainen Risti, SPR) is the oldest and largest charity organization in Finland (Johansson 2017,121). When combining all national and international programs of the Finnish Red Cross, the current size of the organization is above the scale of any other actor in the Finnish field of charity (Johansson 2017, 134). According to market surveys, the brand of the Finnish Red Cross is well-known and well-respected among the Finnish public (Hytönen 2002, 84).

The Finnish department of the Red Cross was first established on 1877 under the Russian Red Cross organization. In the early years, the actions of the department focused on single operations, and the activity of organization was tentative and small-scale. (Hytönen 2002, 244, 15-16.) After the Finnish independency from Russia in 1917, the former Finnish department was ended, and a new foundation was established with the name Finnish Red Cross – Suomen Punainen Risti in 1919 (Hytönen 2002, 33). From the start of the Red Cross movement in Finland, the financial resources of the organization relied much on voluntary donations and other external funding. Starting already in 1877, Finnish

people were encouraged to join as members of the organization and were actively asked to donate money and goods. (Hytönen 2002, 15–16, 245.) Annual fundraising events and campaigns were already organized in the beginning of the 20th century (Rosén 2002, 256–257). In 1961, the Finnish government admitted a permanent fundraising permission for the Finnish Red Cross Disaster Relief Fund (Hytönen 2002, 63–65).

In addition, the government of Finland has been a notable supporter for the organization (Hytönen 2002, 108–110; Johansson 2017, 136). The annual funding has fluctuated with economic and political changes, but the average level of the support has remained high (Hytönen 2002, 79, 87–92, 120–123; Johansson 2017, 136, 154). In 2016, the Finnish Red Cross received more monetary support from the Finnish government than any other organization (Johansson 2017, 133–134, 154–156). Currently, almost $\frac{1}{4}$ of all income of the organization is received from individual donors, and almost half of the income is received from the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland (Johansson 2017, 133–134, 154–156). Also, the Finnish Red Cross Blood Service is legally in charge of the nationwide blood service of Finland (Johansson 2017, 20; Hytönen 2002, 245).

However, additional funding has been needed, since the scope of activities in the organization has expanded drastically during the 20th century (Hytönen 2002, 71, 245). To ensure enough financial resources, the organization has invested in marketing. From the beginning, visibility in newspapers has been important for the organization to maintain publicity. (Hytönen 2002, 15–16, 63, 244.) Today, one of the most well-known campaigns of the Finnish Red Cross is the annual Hunger Day (Nälkäpäivä) campaign that takes place every autumn. The Hunger Day campaign started from Pälkäne in 1980 from the initiative of the local Finnish Red Cross department. The idea of the Hunger Day campaign was to raise funds for international aid operations by asking small donations corresponding a value of one day nutrition. The campaign was marketed actively, and the outcome of the fundraising was promising. (Johansson 2017, 84; Hytönen 2002, 124.)

Following the success in Pälkäne, Hunger Day campaign was already organized nation-wide the next year. In the following years, the target of the fundraising varied, but the idea of the campaign remained the same. (Hytönen 2002, 124.) When writing this research in 2018–2019, the annual Hunger Day campaign continues to be organized in Finland with a notable volume. Today, the marketing of the campaign is very different from that of the first years. However, public visibility is still important the success of the campaign - maybe now even more than in the past. In the next sections, Hunger Day campaign material will be analysed with the methods of visual rhetoric analysis and discourse analysis.

4. Methodology

4.1. The Research data: Four decades of campaign marketing

The data of the research is poster marketing of the annual Hunger Day (Nälkäpäivä) campaign by the Finnish Red Cross from 1981 to 2018. The data consists of the textual and visual content of a total 68 campaign posters. The collection of the data was done in cooperation with the Finnish Red Cross, and the data collection process was conducted in three stages during the summer and autumn of 2018. I decided to focus the study on the Hunger Day campaign only, even though I first planned to include various fundraising campaigns by the Finnish Red Cross in the analysis. The focus on Hunger Day campaign seemed suitable for the purpose of the study, because the almost 40-year-old history of the campaign provided enough material for the analysis, and it further allowed for observations of the possible historic changes in the nature of the marketing.

Moreover, owing to previous data collection conducted by Ari Räsänen (2013) for his thesis, a systematic collection of the marketing posters of the Hunger Day campaign already existed till the year 2012. It seemed practical to start my analysis with this pre-existing data, which already covered the time period of 1981–2012. The pre-existing material from the Hunger Day campaign included 55 pieces of posters, from which I selected 47 pieces for further analysis. I decided to leave out ones with identical counterparts somewhere else in the data (six pieces), and versions in Swedish of any of the posters in the collection (two pieces).

Nonetheless, I wanted to include the more recent years of the campaign in the study, so I conducted a second round of data collection myself at the Finnish Red Cross office with the criteria of choosing material only in Finnish. All the available campaign material was already narrowed to the material that the Finnish Red Cross had been used in nation-wide distribution. After the second round of the data collection, the existing data was increased with 18 Hunger Day campaign posters from 2013 to 2018. Later in Autumn of 2018, the data was completed with three posters from the latest Hunger Day campaign of 2018. With this process, I ended with the final amount of 68 campaign posters to be analysed in the research.

The final data covers the full 38-year-long lifespan of the Hunger Day campaign, until the time of writing the thesis in 2018–2019. The available data covers every year from the period between 1981 and 2018. However, a folder for the year 1998 is left outside the data, because the years 1997 and 1998 share exactly identical contents. The selected data reflects the history of the Hunger Day

campaign comprehensively, even though it does not include all the marketing material published under the Hunger Day campaign.

In this research, the focus of the analysis is in the poster marketing methods that attempt to engage with the campaign audiences. The visual and textual contents of the Hunger Day campaign posters are analysed with visual rhetoric analysis and discourse analysis to address the following research question:

How is the role of an individual participant represented in the Hunger Day campaign discourses?

4.2. Representations matter

The theoretical standing point of the research is in social constructivism. In social constructivism, the human ways to reflect the world are seen to construct the perceptions of reality (Jokinen, Juhila & Suoninen 2016; Seppänen 2001). In constructivist thinking, the schemes of communication, culture and religion are understood to create meanings that eventually become the ideas of the world. These systems are transferred in the process of socialization and are continuously reproduced and negotiated in interaction. People give meanings to the world in the processes of language and in other human-made meaning systems, and these systems are seen to direct all human understanding. (Jokinen, Juhila & Suoninen 2016, 11–13, 17; Seppänen 2001, 20–22.) Hence, it is significant to look at what is said and how. Therefore, the focus of the analysis is on language and semiotics of the Hunger Day campaign posters. Below, the constructivist perspectives on language and semiotics are introduced in detail. Following this introduction, the practical application of the methods in the research is presented.

According to Jokinen, Juhila and Suoninen (2016), the structured meaning systems in language and semiotics can be named ‘discourses’ or ‘interpretative repertoires’. The concept of discourse is commonly utilized in studies on institutionalized language and power relations, whereas the concept of repertoire is more often connected to studies of everyday communication. (Jokinen, Juhila & Suoninen 2016, 34–35.) However, Väliverronen (1998, 21) argues that ‘discourses’ can also be understood from a broader perspective that includes all forms of written and spoken language, or even visual forms of representation.

Discourse analysis is one of the possible study orientations to study the dynamics between meaning systems and social action. Discourse analysis entails a heavy focus on language and its use, because language is considered the major element of understanding the world. (Pietikäinen & Mäntynen 2009, 7, 12; Valtonen 1998, 95–97.) Jokinen, Juhila and Suoninen (2016) explain that the world is made sense through language, since classifications and categorizations of language connect subjects with meanings. In addition, words have function beyond their purpose to describe reality, and their meanings can generate conditions to allow or limit possibilities for human action. (Jokinen, Juhila & Suoninen 2016, 11–17, 47–48, 54–58.) Similarly, Pietikäinen and Mäntynen (2009) present that language is a structural system that entails norms and regulations defining the possibilities of interaction. However, the options of language are various, since the world could always be described in other words. Therefore, using language means making choices from a selection of available options. In studying the processes of language, the method of discourse analysis offers a useful framework to study how language is used to construct social phenomenon. (Pietikäinen & Mäntynen 2009, 7–8, 12–14.)

Hence, discourse analysis builds on social constructivist thinking in analysing the dynamics of language and social action. Language is not viewed as a clear reflection of reality, but as a human-made construction that becomes a part of reality in social interaction. The benefit of discourse analysis is that it goes beyond meaning systems to analyse how these systems work to influence human action and identity-building. Hence, the function of language is seen broader than merely describing the world or communicating: language is also used to create and reproduce identities, social relations and hierarchies. (Pietikäinen & Mäntynen 2009, 15; Jokinen, Juhila & Suoninen 2016, 11–13, 17.)

Analysis on language is also interested in the eventual consequences of using different words and expressions. According to Pietikäinen and Mäntynen (2009), the various choices in language are the focus of discourse analysis, because different choices can have a different social impact in the outside world. These impacts can be evaluated in micro-levels and macro-levels of society. Representations matter for people in single occasions, but they also matter in a wider political sense. All representations reflect a larger social and cultural context, and all expressions can be politically powerful. Different levels of language go hand in hand, and so do the analysis on language and society. For example, analysis on micro-level and macro-level relationships can study how the world-scale developments such as globalization or economic change are constructed in everyday use of language. (Pietikäinen & Mäntynen 2009, 8–13, 17–28.)

With focus on the social and cultural impacts of language, discourse analysis can reveal socially constructed discursive practices. When these practices are identified and categorized, they can also be challenged. Hence, one of the advantages of discourse analysis is questioning existing discourses and negotiating for additional possibilities. With language changing, social practices can be changed as well. (Pietikäinen & Mäntynen 2009, 8, 62–65.)

However, Janne Seppänen (2001) points out that language is not the only significant instrument used to construct reality. People are language-oriented actors, but they are visually-oriented actors as well. (Seppänen 2001, 21.) Therefore, Seppänen argues that social scientific research would benefit more from a deeper emphasis on the visual aspects of communication. Seppänen states that the non-verbal forms of communication are fundamental part of human interaction, and they should be considered together with language to better understand how reality is socially constructed. (Seppänen 2001, 20–21, 103.) Similarly, Väliverronen (1998, 28) notes that especially the older linguistic orientations have neglected visual elements in favour of written text, but the more recent study orientations have introduced important new approaches to study the relationships between visual and textual communication. The visually oriented research considers the elements in pictures, movies, and videos not as random combinations, but as outcomes of human-made selection. Visual reality constructs of systematic norms that are transferred to meanings - just like language. Therefore, the content of pictures, movies and videos is important to consider in attempt to analyse how people think about and see the world. (Seppänen 2001, 13–14.)

Hence, both verbal and visual representations are included in the analysis of the Hunger Day campaign posters. Discourse analysis is used to analyse the verbal content of the Hunger Day posters, and methods of visual rhetorical analysis are utilized in the examination of the relationships between the visual and verbal content in the data.

4.3. Language is powerful

In general, discourse analysis can lean towards analytical or critical research orientation, or to a mixture of both orientations. Analytical orientation is often used to highlight the diversity of possible discourses, and the critical orientation is used to analyse power relations in language. (Jokinen, Juhila & Suoninen 2016, 12–13, 19; Valtonen 1998, 99–105.) Despite the orientation, discourse analysis is interested in analysing the function and the consequences of language in a given context. The study of power relations may reveal hierarchical relations between or within the discourses that might bear larger ideological consequences (Jokinen, Juhila & Suoninen 2016, 75–76, 95). Language operates through representations, and representations generate power. Representations have the capacity to

include and exclude subjects, create definitions and build hierarchies. Therefore, different ideas of subjects, identities, and their relationships with each other are expressions of selective representations. (Pietikäinen & Mäntynen 2009, 53–59.)

According to Pietikäinen and Mäntynen (2009, 53) the power of representations is the capability to make factual claims and causal connections on any possible definition. For example, the same political topic could be approached from environmental, economic, or other perspective, with all these discourses claimed valid. The researcher is interested in these selective processes of language and in the power relations they generate. (Pietikäinen & Mäntynen 2009, 53–59.) If some discourses appear especially strong and frequent, these discourses can be determined hegemonic. Hegemonic discourses can enjoy a normative or self-evident position in their context, and they may suppress or silence other available discourses. Hegemonic discourses are important to consider from the perspective of power, since these discourses may for example legitimize subordinative actions. (Jokinen, Juhila & Suoninen 2016, 75–76, 95.)

In addition, power can be found in definitions and categorizations of different actors. Analysis on ‘subject positions’ can be done to uncover hierarchical roles and identities between the actors within a discourse. When considering the positions of different people, findings can reveal if some actors are given voice, resources, or responsibilities over others in a given context. (Jokinen, Juhila & Suoninen 2016, 86.) Discursive roles and identities are often constructed in relation to dichotomies, antonyms and other simplified categorizations. Continuous use of these categories may lead to acceptance of narrow identities, which may further lead to stagnation of action. Discourses reproducing hierarchical power relations and subject positions can be critically reconsidered, and the researcher can ask if person in a given position could potentially take another position in a different context. (Jokinen, Juhila & Suoninen 2016, 97–102.)

In discourse analysis, even the seemingly neutral expressions are understood to be charged with ideas that determine what is normal in a given context (Jokinen, Juhila & Suoninen 2016, 27; Valtonen 1998, 102–103). For people adjusted in their own culture of meanings, these ‘hidden’ attitudes in language might be challenging to notice. For example, if certain meanings have become established and do not become contested in society, these meanings might in fact suppress the possible variety in language. This, in turn, can influence the thinking of people and might limit the variety in constructing social reality. (Jokinen, Juhila & Suoninen 2016, 19.) Therefore, discourse analysis can be an effective tool to uncover the constructions under the surface of language. However, it should be noted that the aim of the analysis is not to determine whether certain meanings can be proven true or false.

Rather, the analysis asks why some meanings become more frequent than others and are given more value compared to others. (Pietikäinen & Mäntynen 2009, 7–8, 13–14; Valtonen 1998, 97, 100–105.)

4.4. Discourse analysis in practice

Discourse analysis is a heavily data-oriented research method. Theoretical perspectives do not dictate the analysis, but the observations stem directly from the data. However, discourses are not explicitly present in the data, but their categorization is a result of analytical interpretation. The research design directs the course of the analysis, and the personal choices of the researcher impact the decisions that are made. Therefore, analysis on the same data can end in various observations depending on the focus of the research. (Jokinen, Juhila & Suoninen 2016, 64, 103, 251; Valtonen 1998, 100, 105.)

Often, the analysis starts with locating the data in its genre and context, and with identifying similarities and differences in the data. After naming the similarities and differences, these elements are categorized into different groups for further analysis. (Jokinen, Juhila & Suoninen 2016, 53–57; Valtonen 1998, 106–107.) In all discourse analysis, the concepts of ‘context’ becomes relevant. Context is important since the nature of language is not stationary, but it is constantly changing in different times and situations. The researcher needs to treat the data in its time and place, and pieces of language should be treated in connection with circumstances they appear in. The genre of language should be noted, since for example language in interview speech and newspaper articles cannot be treated with same preconditions. (Jokinen, Juhila & Suoninen 2016, 37–40; Pietikäinen & Mäntynen 2009, 18–20, 34–37; Valtonen 1998, 107, 112.)

In addition, discourse analysis is interested in identifying the different categorizations of subjects. The ‘actors’ presented in language should be identified, since they generate important information on the roles given for self and others (Jokinen, Juhila & Suoninen 2016, 50). In discourse analytic thinking, identities are understood to be built in the processes of social interaction, by using the schemes that are available in the given meaning systems. Categories in language are often constructed by using dichotomy and difference, such as the concepts of ‘south and north’, and ‘a student and a teacher’. Depending on the context, the same person may identify with different categories, such as the identity of a mother, or a guitar player or religious person. Discourse analysis accepts that identities are shifting and conflicting by nature, instead of being stable entities. (Jokinen, Juhila & Suoninen 2016, 28, 32, 43–45.)

In addition, it is common for discourses not to appear clear or coherent in the data, or to occur in conflict with one another. Discourse analytic framework includes an assumption that various

discourses and repertoires can coexist and compete in the social world. All the possible meaning systems negotiate with each other, and some systems may eventually become more dominant than others. Therefore, discourse analysis argues that language generates consequences. Thus, one of the benefits of the method is its potential to uncover the ideological impacts of language that can have a greater political relevance. (Jokinen, Juhila & Suoninen 2016, 25–26, 47–50; Valtonen 1998, 100–105.)

Therefore, various researchers have agreed that analysing representations, identities, and relationships is important in discourse analysis. For example, Norman Fairclough (1997) has found these elements useful for categorizing media representations and audience relationships. For example, the data can be examined to determine how people and events are presented, and how identities and roles are constructed in these presentations. Then, the relationships between these different actors can be considered. In addition, Väliverronen (1998) states that the actual audiences of the representations should be considered to know more about the impacts of language. In the end, the meanings are only realized in the interpretations of the people in the audience. People make different evaluations based on their personal life histories and value systems, and they tend to generate different understandings. (Väliverronen 1998, 28–31.)

Therefore, the researcher is often interested in analysing the variety of the available discourses, and the impacts that different discourses may have (Jokinen, Juhila & Suoninen 2016, 77–78, 100). During the analysis, the frequency, strength and diversity of different discourses can be used to interpret the function of discourses. After analysing the data, speculative interpretations or critical observations can be made to connect the analysis with wider societal or political discussions. (Jokinen, Juhila & Suoninen 2016, 45–59, 97–102.)

Therefore, analytical opportunities of discourse analysis are many. Sometimes discourse analytical framework is combined with other research traditions to gain additional analytical insights to the study. Other methods sharing constructivist worldview are often compatible with discourse analysis, and hence elements can be adopted from research traditions such as conversation analysis, rhetorical analysis, ethnographical analysis and semiotics. (Jokinen, Juhila & Suoninen 2016, 251.) The research in hand combines discourse analysis with visual rhetorical analysis to direct the analytical focus on verbal and non-verbal argumentation.

4.5. A picture can speak thousand words

Visual representations are argumentative. Hence, Janne Seppänen (2001) argues that visual representations can be ‘read’ like text. Visual representations include established norms and typical ways of representation that can be identified and evaluated. Knowledge on visual representations is required to truly understand visual systems and the cultural attitudes they reflect. Moreover, knowledge of visual representations is required to recognize how media and commercials attempt to influence their audiences. (Seppänen 2001, 15–16, 34, 174.)

Semiotic elements can be structured in a way that produce a certain idea of subjects or events (Pietikäinen & Mäntynen 2009, 61). Therefore, it is important to understand that visual representations are tied to cultural norms, values and expectations (Seppänen 2001, 34, 36–37, 219). The topics and the style of visual systems are tied to the context and the genre they are related to. These elements of representation determine how for example gender and ethnicity are visually portrayed. (Seppänen 2001, 34.) For example, pictures of different ethnic groups can either reinforce or challenge stereotypical representations (Pietikäinen & Mäntynen 2009, 61). Rhetorical framework offers a selection of tools for analysing these argumentative strategies and their socially constructed functions (Potter 1996, 103–107).

According to Palonen and Summa (1996), rhetorical theory is not an individual approach, but a selection of diverse traditions. Studies under rhetorical theory cover various sides of verbal and visual communication, ranging from speeches to different types of arguments, tropes, metaphors and their impacts with the audience. (Palonen & Summa 1996, 7–10.) Rhetoric tools can be utilized in detailed analysis of the strategic use of communication. The interest is in the components of representations and the function they serve in their context. Different arguments can be proven equally reasonable or logical, and therefore all arguments are open for consideration. The competence of an argument is eventually determined in the ways how certain perspectives are defended and justified, and other perspectives are attacked or silenced. (Potter 1996, 106–107; Summa 1995, 75–77.) The findings of rhetorical analysis can further contribute to critical discussions on the research topic. Like in all social interaction, rhetorical argumentation is treated as a social construction, not a direct reflection of truth. Therefore, argumentation is always a subject for contestation, and different categories and identities can always be negotiated (Jokinen, Juhila & Suoninen 2016, 341).

Rhetoric analysis is also interested in the audiences of the presented arguments. All argumentative representations are addressed to a specific audience, and the success of an argument is realized in its relationship with this audience. To prove the argument’s credibility to the audience, argumentative

strategies and rhetorical devices are used to strengthen the delivery of the message. The strategies may highlight the authority of the speaker, or the authority of the argument itself. For example, marketing rhetoric is addressed to the target audience of potential buyers, and the arguments are intended to convince the audience to choose the product. Advertisements often speak directly to the receiver in a 'personal' manner to engage with them. In contrast, news articles do not need to consider whether they connect personally with the reader, but they need to be convincing in reporting news. (Jokinen, Juhila & Suoninen 2016, 260–261, 291, 344; Väliverronen 1998, 29–30.)

In addition, visually oriented rhetorical analysis provides means for identifying interrelated components of visual and textual representations. The method acknowledges especially the power of visual representations. The ways of representing people matter, because these representations construct the ways people are seen. For the audience, an individual person portrayed in a picture may act as a representative of the total group, which might further impact the understanding of this group. Pictures can create a message together with the text they are connected to, or they may act on their own to lead the viewer to a certain direction. (Vinson 2012, 143–144, 147.)

In any rhetorically oriented analysis, the interest is often in the function of categorizations (Jokinen, Juhila & Suoninen 2016, 368). Categorization is a central element of all meaning systems, but it is also a rhetorical device used to legitimize and normalize some arguments and to contest other arguments (Potter 1996, 111; Jokinen, Juhila & Suoninen 2016, 344–364). Pictures are seen powerful in constructing categorizations, and rhetoric tools can be used to uncover these tendencies. For example, racialized and gendered categorizations can be examined using feminist rhetoric viewpoint, in which stereotypes and normative representations are considered especially carefully. (Vinson 2012, 142, 147–151.)

In addition, feminist viewpoint on visual rhetoric asks why some elements are visually presented, while others are left outside. For example, the researcher could ask why magazines only portray pregnant mothers and not the baby's father. Also, analytical interest could be in the different presentations of groups of people. For example, the analysis could consider the reasons why white and non-white mothers are portrayed from different career perspectives in an article, or why white mothers are introduced by name, while non-white mothers left without personal introduction. (Vinson 2012, 142, 147–151.)

All these representations are seen significant, since they are eventually the results of human made selection. The focus of a picture reveals one thing while leaving another thing outside. Therefore, it is important to look at the decisions made in a picture. (Seppänen 2001, 44.) To uncover such

decisions in images, a framework by Jenna Vinson (2012) provides practical tools to start with. In own her research on magazine representations of pregnant teenagers, Vinson approaches the data by presenting a set of questions.

1. “What do we see? Who or what is emphasized and how?”
2. “What don’t we see? Who or what is invisible and why?”
3. “What is the relationship between the verbal and visual rhetoric of the article?”
4. “And finally, how do the visual components of the image persuade an audience to see the problem in a particular way?” (Vinson 2012, 143.)

These questions seek to understand visual representations by asking what is shown in the pictures, how and why. Also, they are interested to know what is not shown in the pictures, and why. In addition, the questions consider the connection between visual and verbal components in the representation. Finally, the questions turn to the viewer of the picture, to ask about the ways in which pictures persuade the audience to look at them in a specific way. (Vinson 2012, 143.)

Similar questions seem applicable for analysing campaign marketing rhetoric. In the following analysis of Hunger Day campaign, visual rhetoric perspectives are utilized in analysing representations of human subjects in the campaign posters.

5. Analysis: Who dominates the campaign posters?

After determining visual rhetoric analysis and discourse analysis to be suitable methodological tools for the research, a following plan was made to conduct the analysis:

First, a brief overview of the data was made to evaluate the scope of the campaign material available for the analysis. The complete data consists of 68 poster samples from each year over the full 38-year-long lifespan of the Hunger Day campaign, and all the available posters were considered in the analysis. The data included multiple posters from some of the campaign years, but it did not cover all the posters ever released as part of the annual Hunger Day campaign. Therefore, the available data was considered to have potential for making general observations of the campaign years, but not for making precise historic observations of the campaign overall. To begin the analysis, the posters were

systematically handled in their initial chronological order, and the year of publication was marked in the posters.

Following the recommended conventions for discourse analysis presented in the previous chapter (see, Jokinen, Juhila & Suoninen 2016, 53–57; Valtonen 1998, 106–107.), the data was then placed in its genre and context. The genre of the data was determined to be ‘nation-wide poster marketing’ to connect to data with public marketing, but to distinguish it from other marketing forms such as digital marketing. Furthermore, the genre was specified as ‘charity campaigning’ to acknowledge the specific nature of the marketing material. In treating the marketing purpose as charity fundraising, it was expected that the material would thematically be connected to humanitarian aid.

Next, the marketing material was placed in its historic and social context which was ‘Finland from late 20th to early 21st century’. Before moving on in the analysis, it was confirmed that it was in fact reasonable to consider the total data as one entity, or whether it should have been treated in several historic parts (for example pre-millennium and post-millennium). Therefore, another brief overview was conducted to evaluate the coherence of the data throughout the years.

As a result, it was noted that the style of the Hunger Day poster marketing had remained somewhat unchanged to this day. The posters from different years formed a coherent body of campaign material with a quite uniform campaign appearance. The Red Cross brand and the Hunger Day campaign name stood out strong, and marketing slogans as well as pictures of people were featured in the campaign posters throughout the years. Representations of the humanitarian aid were visible throughout the data, although the diversity of different subjects in the posters appeared to grow towards the most recent years. The campaign layout remained rather similar throughout the years, although signs of digitization were visible in the campaign posters after 2015 with the use of campaign hashtags and options for donating through social media. After making this evaluation, it was decided that the posters could have been treated as a coherent body of data for the purpose of the analysis.

Next, the analytical process could be started with the method of visual rhetoric analysis. An application of Jenna Vinson’s (2012) framework was formed to analyse the visual and rhetoric elements presented in the posters. The following questions were presented for the analysis:

1. What is the connection between the verbal and visual elements?
2. Who or what is presented and how? Who is emphasised and how?
2. Who or what is invisible and why?
4. How does the rhetoric of the posters attempt to engage with the audience?

Hence, the analysis was started with the question “What is the connection between the verbal and visual elements? “, because it was found practical to discuss the relationship between the verbal and visual content at the very beginning. As a result, it was determined that the genre of the data required treating textual and visual rhetoric as interconnected units, because these different elements formed the marketing message together.

After determining the close relationship between the pictures and the text, the analysis moved on to consider the visible and invisible elements of the poster representations. The visual content in the data was first considered to answer the question “Who or what is presented and how?” Hence, the pictures in the posters were analysed to find out which subjects were featured the campaign images. Each picture was considered in turn, and all the human subjects and other subjects represented in the pictures were listed. Next, the campaign text was considered to find out “Who is emphasised and how?”. In this part of the analysis, the campaign texts in each poster were analysed in their context to discuss which actors were communicating in the posters and how was the rhetoric style of the communication.

After considering the nature and frequency of different visual and rhetorical elements, an overall idea of different actors and their roles in the posters could be formed. After the identification of the existing roles, the question of “Who or what is invisible and why?” could be discussed. In addition, the rhetoric devices in the posters were evaluated to answer the question: “How does the rhetoric of the posters attempt to engage with the audience?”

However, to better discuss the last question, the research process was continued with discourse analysis. The focus of the discourse analysis was determined by the results of the visual rhetoric analysis, which suggested an evident focus on the role of individual actors in the posters. This part of the analysis focused mainly on the textual elements of the data, but the visual elements were included in the evaluation together with the text if considered necessary. The different campaign slogans were categorized based on their similarities in the ways of speaking about the role of a campaign participant. The analysis ended in two main categories with three sub-categories to describe the role of an individual campaign participant. Next, the complete analysis is presented gradually in the following chapters.

5.1. Active viewers, helpless victims: Human actors in the campaign posters

What is the connection between the verbal and visual elements?

Who or what is presented and how? Who is emphasised and how?

Who or what is invisible and why?

In the first stage of the analysis, the human actors represented in the Hunger Day campaign posters were evaluated. A systematic review was conducted to identify the roles of people involved in the Hunger Day campaign marketing posters. Since the purpose of the campaign is to raise funds for aid work, the poster representations of human actors were assumed to reflect their position in the different sides of help-giving. At this stage of the analysis the data was analysed as a whole and the textual and visual components of the campaign posters both were closely examined to form a coherent picture of the data. All aspects of the posters involving text or pictures were included in the examination.

First, the people represented in the posters were identified by evaluating their role in the posters. In the categorization the human actors were appreciated as the individuals or groups of people that were visually represented in the campaign pictures or that were verbally referred to in the campaign. Most of the posters clearly involved a human actor, whether a person or an organization. Some posters, however, merely included a large campaign text or a symbolic picture of a donation, and these posters were left outside of the categorization in proceeding with the analysis. Focusing on the act of helping, my intention was to find out how these people were represented in relation to helping. I aimed to determine whether the actors were presented as givers or receivers of help, or if there were other possible positions to be found in the textual or visual images of the campaign posters. I conducted the analysis by considering each of the campaign posters at a time, separately evaluating the type of an actor that was presented in the text and in the picture. For some of the years there were more than one poster available in the data. However, posters from the same year were often thematically similar. In the numerical categorization the posters were measured in campaign years to form a coherent understanding of the total data.

From the written content it was simple to identify the actor represented in the posters. The written aspects of the posters usually included a message explicitly communicating to a specific audience. Many of the posters referred to the viewer of the poster personally with messages such as “Hunger Day: Helping with your help.” (2003). *

*Campaign slogan translations from Finnish to English: Suvi Parhankangas, 2019

However, actors in the visual content of the posters were not as simple to identify. The individuals in the pictures were not usually introduced in the campaign posters, sometimes making it more challenging to determine the type of actor they represented. Personalized introductions of the people appeared occasionally, but only in a few of the more recent cases published close to the 2010s. These examples introduced international volunteer workers of the Red Cross as well as certain Finnish celebrities. Thus, in most of the cases, I could not be absolutely sure about the role the person represented in the pictures. Therefore, I relied on previous knowledge of charity marketing strategies when naming the groups of people in the pictures and making interpretations on their roles in helping.

Traditionally the images of vulnerable groups have been used in charity marketing to symbolize the people in need (Kuvaja 2010, 20–21, 50, 63). Therefore, I interpreted the pictures of all humanitarian suffering and most pictures of children and mothers to represent groups in need of help. With other images featuring human actors, I analysed the overall context of their representation. I considered the environment the person was presented in, as well as the action or position they were presented in. For example, I evaluated whether the person seemed to be working, asking for help, or benefiting from the assistance they had received. Sometimes the related campaign slogan hinted towards the role of the person in the image. As the categorization proceeded, it became clear that all human actors in the posters could be fitted either in the category of ‘givers of help’ or ‘receivers of help’. This suggested no need for any additional main categories. However, there seemed to be varying types of actors inside the main categories, which resulted in forming more specific sub-categories under the main categories.

Table 1. The different human actors represented in the Hunger Day campaign posters.

1.THE GIVERS OF HELP (1981–2018)	2. THE RECEIVERS OF HELP (1981–2018)
1.The audience of the campaign poster	1.The vulnerable victims in need
(potential) Donors	Children and mothers
(potential) Volunteer box collectors	Victims of humanitarian crises and war
2. The other help-givers to identify with	People lacking the basic means for survival
Red Cross volunteers	
Red Cross volunteer box collectors	
Celebrity ambassadors of the Red Cross	
Community (national or international)	
3.The organizer of the aid work	
The Red Cross organization	
The Hunger Day campaign	
Frequency in the posters (years)	Frequency in the posters (years)
TEXT – 34 / 38 years	TEXT - 4 / 38 years
IMAGES – 9 / 38 years	IMAGES – 16 / 38 years

Table 1. represents the types of human actors identified in the Hunger Day campaign posters. The table includes all human actors presented either in the written or the visual content of the posters over the 38 years of campaigning. The categorization suggests that all actors fall under the main categories of ‘givers’ or ‘receivers’ of help.

Interestingly, the givers and receivers of help do not appear in the data with the same frequency. The givers of help are more prevalent in the textual content of the posters, whereas the receivers of help are more prevalent in the pictures. In fact, givers of help are referred to in most of the campaign texts, but receivers of help are hardly mentioned. Overall, the category of givers is much more diverse than that of the receivers of help. The status of help-giving is connected to individuals participating the campaign through donating or joining in the fundraising, members and supporters of the organization, the wider community, and the campaign-organizing actors. On the contrary, the role of receivers of help remains narrow. Although the receivers are dominant characters in the pictures, they are merely presented in the position of vulnerable victims and objects of action. Receivers of help are represented as children and mothers, victims of humanitarian crises and war, and people lacking basic means for survival.

After distinguishing the roles of the givers and the receivers of help, I wanted to look closer at the ways these groups are represented in the posters. First, the scope of agency given for these actors seems to differ significantly. The representations of help-givers construct an idea of active agents with plenty of possibilities. Almost all verbal references in the posters speak either directly *to* the helpers, or *about* the helpers. The roles suggested for the givers of help are diverse, and the verbal references to the help-givers emphasise action and initiative. On the contrary, the receivers of help appear to possess a passive agency, if any. These groups of people are merely pictured as targets of action. Even though the receivers of help are presented in the poster images in high volume, the people are typically portrayed as anonymous examples of a larger group. Even when the texts refer to ‘the receivers of help’, they seem to be presented as distant ‘others’ passively waiting to be helped, instead of as active agents themselves. Examples of the different positions are demonstrated below:

The givers of help – Position of active agents:

“Act against hunger. Participate in Hunger Day in 14.–15.11.” (1986) (Figure 1.)

“You too can be a helper. Volunteer as a box collector.” (2016)

The receivers of help – Position of passive targets:

“Fill someone’s empty plate” (1981) (Figure 2.)

“Help conflict victims” (2017)

After categorizing the different actors, I wanted to consider reasons for their differing style of representation. As noted above, the groups of givers and receivers of help stand out from each other on the ways they are represented both as people and as actors. However, I ended up noticing that even the most different representations of people serve the same purpose in the posters: to catch the interest of the audience. All human actors presented in the posters are directly connected with the viewer, despite their different function in the posters.

The attempt for connection with the viewer is most evident in the language that is explicitly directed to the viewer with a message to encourage them to contribute in the campaign. In all the analysed data, this is the most common way to refer to the help-givers. Additionally, presenting other help-givers in the posters seems to be rather common as well. In my interpretation, the purpose of the other

help-givers in the posters is to generate a sense of connection with the audience. The viewer can identify with the international Red Cross volunteers, or with the Finnish celebrities they would personally like to identify with. The Red Cross organization and the Hunger Day campaign offer the viewer the concrete means for participation: they are the instrument with which an individual can make their contribution in help-giving. In the end, even when the language seems to refer to a community, the message comes back to an individual donor and call for action: “Everyone can help. Donate, become a link in the chain of aid.” (2009). Finally, the receivers of help do not possess an active agency in the posters, but they serve another crucial purpose: to generate emotions within the viewer and to persuade them to contribute in the campaign.

Therefore, categorization of the agents presented in the Hunger Day posters resulted in the following conclusions:

- The Hunger Day campaign posters represent agents that can be divided either to ‘givers of help’ or ‘receivers of help’.
- In the campaign posters, the ‘givers of help’ are represented as active agents, whereas the ‘receivers of help’ are represented as passive objects of action.
- All different agents identified in the Hunger Day campaign posters engage with one actor: the individual viewer of the campaign poster.

Figure 1.



Figure 2.



Figure 3.



Figure 4.



Figure 1. Verbal message to the viewer: Toimi nälkää vastaan – Act against Hunger. (1986)

Figure 2. Image of a receiver of help: A Vulnerable Victim. (1981)

Figure 3. Image of a giver of help: A Red Cross Volunteer. (2016)

Figure 4. Image of a giver of help: A celebrity ambassador of the Red Cross. (2002)

5.2. Direct requests, emotional messages: Strategies to engage with the audience

How does the rhetoric of the posters attempt to engage with the audience?

The Hunger Day campaign posters indicate a strong emphasis towards the viewers of the posters. Different groups of people are represented in the campaign pictures and slogans, but they all seem to serve the purpose to catch the interest of the individual viewer. They are the main receiver of the campaign messages and the primary actor in the campaign poster representations. After determining the systematic emphasis on the role of the viewer, the analysis continued with evaluation of the strategies used in the posters to engage with the viewer. The verbal and visual content of the posters were evaluated to study the visual rhetorical devices used in the campaign data.

In most of the campaign posters, the slogans communicate directly to the person viewing the poster. This is evident in the continuous use of the singular personal pronoun ‘you’, which is used in different contexts in nearly every campaign poster of the data. From the total 68 campaign posters, 58 include a direct verbal reference to the viewer. These direct references appear throughout the data and they are located both in the headlines and in the footnotes of the posters. A minority of 10 posters does not include a direct reference to the viewer, but these posters do not generally include much text at all. These posters include either the name of the campaign or the organization, or a short message such as “Thank you!”. Some of the texts also include a slogan with a play on words or use of passive voice instead of a direct message to the viewer. Hence, it seems that there is a common tendency in the Hunger Day campaign language to speak directly to the person viewing the poster, and to refer to these people by using the singular ‘you’.

In many of the posters, the references to the people viewing the poster stand out especially strong due to the selected style of the language. In Finnish grammar, grammatical cases can be used to indicate the subject in a sentence. Therefore, an actor can be identified with the use of grammatical cases, making it often unnecessary to mention the related personal pronoun such as ‘she’ or ‘you’. However, if the personal pronoun is mentioned anyway, it emphasises the actor already identified in the sentence. In my interpretation the campaign language in the Hunger Day posters seem to emphasise the personification of the viewer with the excessive use of the word ‘you’. In many of the analysed campaign slogans the subject ‘you’ is mentioned even where it is not necessary for the clarity of the message. In addition, the direct message including ‘you’ is often printed with a large font size, making it stand out visually as well. Therefore, I examined the nature of direct communication in the posters by determining whether the vocabulary in the references seemed to be neutral or emphasised. I categorised the references ‘with emphasis’ in the cases where the actor was separately mentioned,

and when the reference was printed in a larger font size. Based on these criteria, around 1/3 of all direct references seemed to include verbal or visual emphasis. Thus, it is evident the focus of the viewer occasionally reinforced through methods of accentuation in the data. This observation suggests a conscious intention to directly communicate to the viewer.

Examples on the use of direct verbal references to the audience, with the original Finnish versions on the side.

1991: *Your* move. – *Sinun* siirtosi.

2003: Helping with *your* help. – Apua *sinun* avullasi.

2012: If *you* help it will be alright. – Ei hätää, jos *sinä* autat.

2015 [A picture of a Red Cross field worker.]: He is there. *You* decide if he can help. – Hän on paikalla. *Sinä* päätät, voiko hän auttaa.

2018: *Your* donation enables the Red Cross help disaster victims in Finland and overseas. – *Sinun* lahjoituksesi ansiosta Punaisella Ristillä on valmius auttaa katastrofien uhreja Suomessa ja maailmalla.

In addition, authoritative and persuasive voice appears frequently in the campaign language. The campaign language directed to the audience is often reinforced with strong expressions of call to action. For example, the campaign language uses the following phrases to urge the viewer to act in a certain way:

1983: *Share* your meal with he. – Jaa ateriasi hänen kanssaan.

1986: *Act* against hunger. – Toimi nälkää vastaan

1992: *Give* the means for survival. *NOW!* – Anna elämän eväät. NYT!

2006: *Donate* next birthday. *Volunteer* as box collector. – Lahjoita seuraava syntymäpäivä. Tule kerääjäksi.

2009: *Be like Heikki*. *Volunteer* as box collector. – Tee kuten Heikki ja tule kerääjäksi.

2011: *Collect* hunger away. *Volunteer* or *donate*. – Kerää nälkä pois. Tule kerääjäksi tai lahjoita.

2014: *Donate* for Hunger Day. *Keep the worst from happening*. – Lahjoita Nälkäpäivänä. Jotta pahin ei tapahtuisi.

2018: *Care*. *Donate*. *Help*. – Välitä. Lahjoita. Autat.

The examples show that the Hunger Day campaign texts aim to engage with the viewer with direct verbal messages. The attention of the viewer is sought with messages targeted to the viewer personally, and the viewer is encouraged to act by describing a specific course of action. The verbal messages work in cooperation with the campaign pictures. As noted in the previous chapter, the majority of the pictures represent receivers of help. Many of these pictures send a powerful message of human suffering. The receivers of help are often portrayed in the context of natural disasters and war, and the people photographed appear to experience hardship. Many of the pictures are close-up images of human faces looking directly to the camera. The people in these pictures look directly at the viewer, almost urging them act to alleviate their suffering. However, not all pictures send a negative message. Some pictures portray a message of happiness and safety experienced by those who have received help.

Ari Räsänen (2013) has used the same data of the Hunger Day campaign in his master's thesis to discuss the ideas of global solidarity and global citizenship. When studying the ways to connect with the viewer, the findings of Räsänen support my own observations. According to Räsänen, pictures of other people, emotional messages, and direct messages targeted to the viewer are used in the campaign to connect with the audience. These strategies can create a sense of global belonging, which in turn is necessary for the success of the campaign. (Räsänen 2013, 75–76.) In my research, similar verbal and visual strategies encourage for individual participation.

Figure 5.



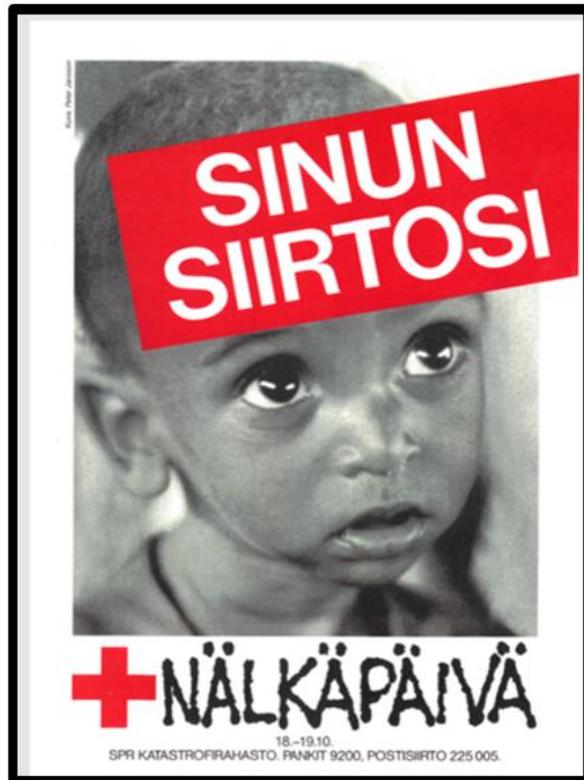
Näлкäpäivä
Lahjoita seuraava syntymäpäivä.
Tule kerääjäksi 21.-23.9.

Katastrofeissa alle 5-vuotiaat kuolevat ensimmäisinä, siksi avun pitää saapua heti. Näлкäpäivä-keräyksessä kerätään varoja Punaisen Ristin katastrofirahastoon, joka mahdollistaa nopean avun katastrofialueille. Auta siiskin – tule Näлкäpäivä-kerääjäksi. Anna tunti aikiasi ja lahjoitit samalla jotain mittaamattoman arvokasta. Elämän.

Ilmoittaudu kerääjäksi
0800 411 777 (ark. 9-15)
www.redcross.fi

Punainen Risti 

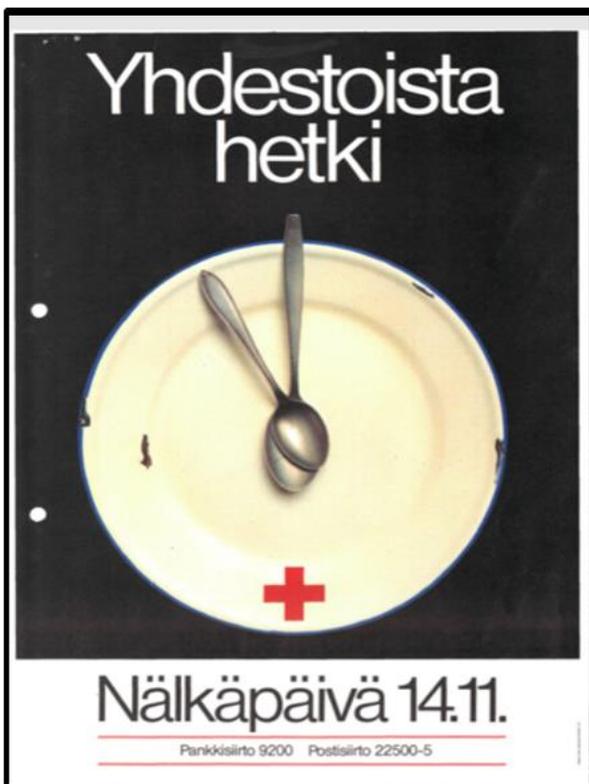
Figure 6.



SINUN SIIRTOSI

+ NÄLKÄPÄIVÄ
18.-19.10.
SPR KATASTROFIRAHASTO. PANKIT 9200, POSTISIIRTO 225 005.

Figure 7.



Yhdestoista hetki

Näлкäpäivä 14.11.

Pankkisiirto 9200 Postisiirto 22500-5

Figure 8.



Kerää näлкä pois.

Operaatio Näлкäpäivä
15.-17.9.2011

Puolikin tuntia riittää.
Tule kerääjäksi tai lahjoita 0600-122 20
(20 euroa/puhelu + pvm).
Voit myös ryhtyä kuukausilahjoittajaksi.
naalkapiva.fi

Punainen Risti 

Figure 9.



Figure 10.



Figure 5. Donate next birthday. Volunteer as box collector.” (2006)

Figure 6. Direct request to the viewer with emphasis on ‘you’: 21/58 cases “Your move” (1991)

Figure 7. Other campaign slogans / use of passive voice. “Eleventh hour.” 10 / 68 posters (1985)

Figure 8. Direct request for the viewer. “Collect hunger away.” (2011)

Figure 9. Imagery of humanitarian crisis “Help conflict victims” (2017)

Figure 10. The safety provided by receiving help. “Care. Donate. Help.” (2018)

6. Consumers and change-makers: Discourses of campaign participants

As stated in the first part of the analysis, the Hunger Day campaign posters suggest a primary agency in the campaign within the individuals viewing the posters. The individual viewer is understood as the main receiver of the campaign’s message, and the individual viewer is the one called to help other people. The second part of the analysis considers the role of these individuals in the campaign: how is the act of campaign participation represented in the posters, and what kind of role it suggests for an individual?

In this stage of the analysis, discourse analysis was conducted to examine the verbal representations of campaign participation. The emphasis of the analysis was delivered from the previous part of the analysis: the analysis suggested a strong focus towards the campaign audiences and a frequent use of rhetoric strategies to engage with the viewer. In addition, it was assumed that the intention to persuade audiences could be expected with the genre of marketing (see, Väliverronen 1998, 30). Hence, it was expected that deeper analysis of the campaign language would reveal more about the ways to persuade audiences. Therefore, the data was approached by looking at the different reasons and justifications provided in the posters to encourage audiences to participate in the campaign. It was expected that by identifying these reasons, the scope of individual agency in the poster marketing could be further evaluated. Hence, the existing knowledge of the data directed the orientation of the analysis.

As advised by Jokinen, Juhila and Suoninen (2016, 53–57), the analysis was started by searching for similarities and differences in the data. To get to the possible justifications for campaign participation, the general nature of the campaign participation was first evaluated. To start with, all campaign slogans were listed if they somehow described the act of campaign participation or the person participating in the campaign. This included both the headlines and the footnotes of the posters. After identifying all the expressions that fit in the criteria, the expressions were categorized in relation the context they appeared in. The context could be the practical action that was referred to, or it could describe the general nature of the action. For example, if the poster stated, “Your help is needed”, it was connected to context of helping, and if the poster stated, “Volunteer for Hunger Day”, it was connected to act of volunteering. This categorization was done to form an overall picture of the nature of campaign participation as presented in the posters.

THE NATURE OF THE CAMPAIGN PARTICIPATION	FREQUENCY (in years)
VOLUNTEERING	15 / 38
2011: Collect hunger away. (Kerää nälkä pois)	
2007: Volunteer for Hunger Day, set the aid operation in motion. (Kun ryhdyt Nälkpäivä-kerääjäksi, käynnistät samalla auttamisen operaation.)	
2002: Do you see yourself in a Red Cross volunteer? (Tunnistatko itsessäsi Punaisen Ristin Nälkpäivä-kerääjän?)	
HELPING	13 / 38
2016: Your help is needed! You too can be a helper. (Apuasi tarvitaan! Ole sinäkin auttaja.)	
2012: If you help it will be alright. (Ei hätää, jos sinä autat.)	
1984: A glass of milk helps. (Maitomukilla autat)	
DONATING	12 / 38
2014: Donate for Hunger Day. Keep the worst from happening. (Lahjoita Nälkpäivänä. Jotta pahin ei tapahtuisi.)	
2009: Donate, become a link in the chain of aid. (Lahjoittamalla olet mukana auttamisen ketjussa.)	
2006: Donate next birthday. Volunteer as box collector. (Lahjoita seuraava syntymäpäivä. Tule kerääjäksi.)	
GIVING TO OTHERS	8 / 38
2010: Let them eat in peace. (Anna ruokarauha)	
1994: Give money to give food. (Kun annat rahaa, annat ruokaa.)	
1992: Give the means for survival, NOW! (Anna elämän eväät, NYT!)	
ACTIVE PARTICIPATION	6 / 38
2009: Find your way to participate. (Löydä oma tapasi osallistua)	
2008: Participate in the aid operation. (Osallistu auttamisen operaatioon)	
1986: Act against hunger. Participate in Hunger Day. (Toimi nälkää vastaan. Osallistu Nälkpäiväkeräykseen)	

Table 2.

As a result, a list of the different forms of individual participation was formed. All available expressions were counted to identify the most frequent descriptions. The frequency of the expressions was calculated based on campaign years, because the campaign posters from the same years often shared the similar theme or a slogan. If some expressions were only mentioned once or twice in the total data, these expressions were discarded from this part of the analysis. These expressions included for example the role of ‘social media user’ (1) and the act of ‘eradicating hunger’ (1). Consequently, the general framework of the nature of campaign participation was determined. The most frequent forms of action are listed in Table 2.

Two dominant options for concrete action were found: to contribute by giving a donation or to personally volunteer as box collector. In addition, the nature of campaign participation was most often connected to the acts of helping, giving and active participating. Based on this framework of action, the analysis continued with considered how these activities and principles were promoted in the campaign language. In this part of the analysis, a ‘justification’ was considered as a verbal statement

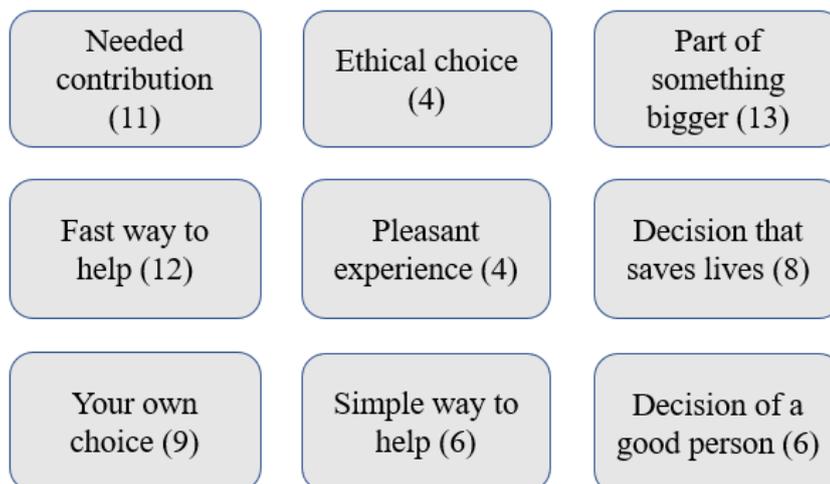
that provided a reason to act in a given way. Therefore, the goal was to determine how donating, volunteering, giving to others, helping others, or participating (in general) were justified in the campaign language.

The analysis proceeded by evaluating the reasons for different actions:

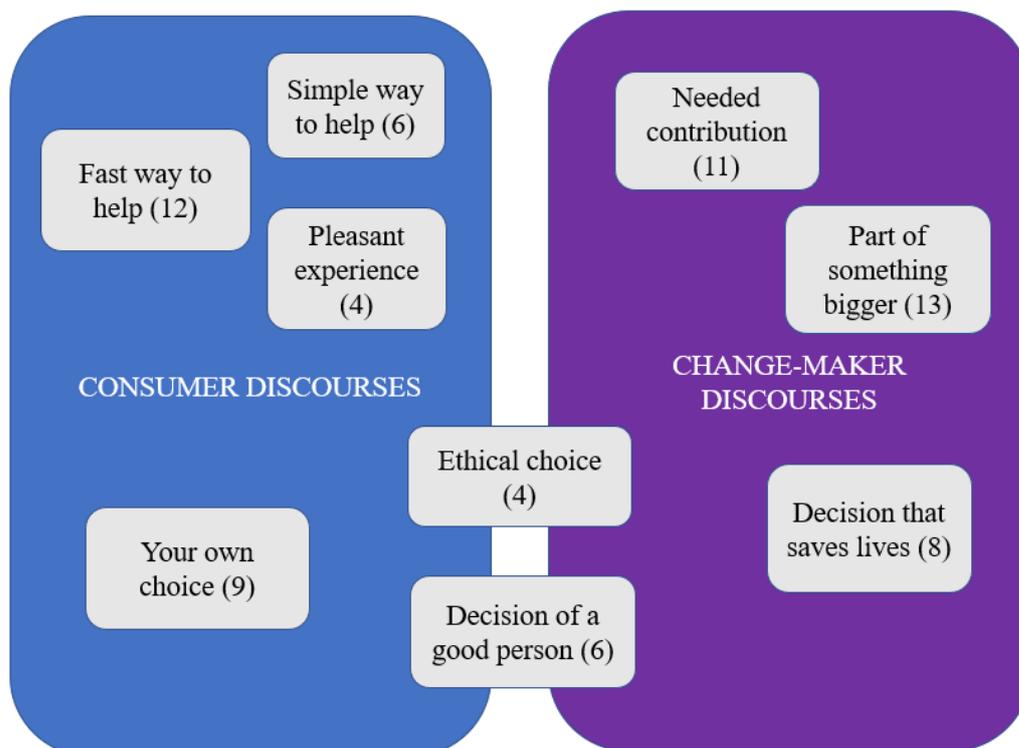
- Reasons for volunteering: “Collect hunger away.” → Participant is able to initiate a great change → Participation will have a great impact on the lives of others.
- Reasons for helping: “Your help is needed!” → Other people need the campaign participant. → Participant can feel needed by others.
- Reasons for giving to others: “Give money to give food” → Participant has enough money to give to others. → Other people will get food.
- Reasons for donating money: “Donate, become a link in the chain of aid” → Participant can be a part of something bigger. → Other people will receive aid.
- Reasons for active participation: “Find your way to participate” → Participant can choose how they like to participate. → Participant can express themselves.

Hence, the message of each campaign slogan was analysed separately to evaluate the justifications they provided. Most of the justifications promised a gain for self or for others, or they referred to the impacts and consequences of the action. All the justifications were further categorized based on the similarities in their chain of reasoning. Some campaign slogans provided more than one possible justification, and these justifications were applied in multiple categories.

The different justifications for campaign participation were categorized as follows:



Next, these groups were further combined in larger categories. Again, this was done by discussing the differences and similarities in the groups. It became evident that much of the justifications focused on the instant gain or practical usefulness of campaign participation, whereas the other groups promised for larger positive consequences or social impact. The groups with the focus on ‘instant gain’ were connected to everyday decision-making in donating money or time, and hence they were gathered in a group that was named ‘consumer discourses’. The groups with focus on large-scale processes was then named as ‘change-maker discourses’ to emphasise their more influential nature. Discourses is two groups could fit in both of the categories, since elements of ‘ethical choice’ and ‘decision of a good person’ were connected to both consumer-decisions and change-making. In the final phase of the categorization, the groups in the same category were organized thematically in three sub-categories that are presented in the following chapters.



6.1. Consumer Discourses

The group of consumer discourses gathers the campaign language representing the individual primarily from a consumer perspective. In the phrases included in this category, the act of helping is framed as a consumer decision, and the individual is seen as a consumer practicing their free will in the market. This section introduces these consumer discourses in the Hunger Day campaign posters in detail. The discourses are presented in three sub-categories that offer different viewpoints for the role of an individual actor.

The campaign offers two concrete possibilities for an individual to give help: to donate money for the campaign, or to donate time and effort as a volunteer box collector. An individual consumer is then free to decide whether they want to participate in this campaign, whether they want to participate in some other campaign, or if they want to participate in any campaign at all. The first sub-category represents campaign participation as a consumer decision, and the category is called “To help or not to help? It is your consumer choice.” Despite being a free decision, participating in the Hunger Day campaign is also framed as a decision of great moral value. Thus, the second sub-category constructs an idea of an ethical consumer, and the category is given the title of “Vote with your money - Choose to be ethical.” The last sub-category focuses on the representations of busy modern-day consumers and their lifestyles, and this category is named “Too busy to participate? Not a problem.”

6.1.1. To help or not to help? It is your consumer choice.

In the first sub-category of consumer discourses, participating in charity is seen as an individual consumer decision. Hence, individuals are primarily treated as consumers who make rational choices in the market. The market of charity provides the consumers with a selection of different organizations and campaigns they can choose from. An individual consumer in the market is free to decide which of these campaigns they want to participate in - if they want to participate in any at all. Therefore organizations attempt to convince the consumers to choose their product, the campaign, instead of another product in the field.

In the Hunger Day posters, the brand of the Red Cross and the reputation of the campaign itself seem to be used to persuade an individual to choose the campaign. Participating in the Hunger Day campaign is presented as an individual decision, but it is also presented as a good, respectful decision. For instance, a campaign poster from 2005 states the following: “Make good a reality! Make a choice! Volunteer as box collector.” The poster presents an individual in the position of making choices over their own time and money. The campaign phrasing also informs the consumer that their participation

in the campaign would make “make good a reality”. Thus, what is marketed for a consumer is a possibility to make “a good choice”.

Another poster from 2009 argues that Hunger Day campaign would be a good choice because it offers suitable ways of participation for everyone. It is possible to participate in the campaign by donating in the bank, making an online transfer, or by giving money to the campaign box collector. In addition, it is possible to volunteer as a box collector. Therefore, the ways of participation are many, and the consumer is free to choose whichever suits them best. The campaign poster says: “Find your way to participate.” which suggests the organization acknowledging differing individual preferences of the consumers. Therefore, these examples emphasise that campaign participation as a matter of individual decision. However, any other choices are not suggested, since the Hunger Day campaign is the choice marketed here.

In some of the posters, the Red Cross logo in the picture seems to be a message itself. According to a marketing research, the Finnish Red Cross enjoys a positive reputation among the Finnish public (Hytönen 2002, 84). For the viewer of the poster, the logo of the Red Cross represents a widely recognized brand. Therefore, some of the Hunger Day campaign posters merely use the Red Cross brand to deliver their intended message for the viewer. For example, a campaign poster from 2001 represents nothing more than a picture of a Red Cross vest, and a text describing the vest as “a life jacket”. For the consumer, the poster can enhance an idea of Red Cross as a valuable actor and may lead to decision to support the organization.

Within the Red Cross brand, the Hunger Day campaign itself is a brand. The Hunger Day campaign already has a long history and wide publicity in Finland, and the ‘Hunger Day’ name is known and recognized as such. In most of the posters throughout the campaign, the Hunger Day campaign name is printed with a large font size. The posters suggest that albeit a voluntary choice, participation in the Hunger Day campaign is the desirable option for the consumer.

Many of the campaign posters further present a difficult problem and suggest the Hunger Day campaign for a solution. For instance, a campaign slogan from 2010 asks the viewer to “See the hunger”. The footnote continues the message by saying: “Hunger Day campaign. Volunteer or donate”. Eventually the campaign offers two practical options for individual contribution: joining in the fundraising or giving a donation. Choosing either of these options demonstrates that the consumer “sees the hunger” and understands they are at the position to make a crucial choice.

Furthermore, some of the posters give evidence of prior success to rationally justify why the Hunger Day is the right campaign to choose. For instance a poster from 2007 presents how the beneficiaries

of the Hunger Day campaign in Kenya and Ethiopia have started to recover from drought and flooding thanks to aid provided by Hunger Day campaign. Thus, the poster refers to positive results of the campaign to convince an individual to participate.

With the same objective in mind, some posters rather focus on the negative sides of not participating in the campaign. A poster from 1991 presents a following slogan: “Your move.” The picture portrays a large close-up image of a black child with begging eyes, and the poster includes the Hunger Day campaign name. The poster highlights that participation in the campaign is an individual decision, but this decision is suggested to have impact on others, to determine whether someone continues to suffer or not. Hence, the individual is asked to make a decision, and to think of the consequences of their decision. The individual consumer is entitled to choose what they want, but the posters argue it is the best choice to participate in the Hunger Day campaign.

6.1.2. Vote with your money - Choose to be ethical.

In the second sub-category, consumer decisions are treated in terms of their morality, and are seen to reflect an individual as a person. Individuals are understood as moral agents, and their decisions are seen to have a moral value. Individuals are free to make consumer decisions, yet some of their decisions may have higher moral value than others. In the Hunger Day campaign posters participating in charity is represented as a valuable act of goodwill. Hence, the person who does charity is offered the label of a helper and the identity of an ethical choice-maker. These individual qualities further represent the type of an ideal person for the campaign. For an individual viewer, this person is something they could become themselves, making the campaign a platform for identity-building. The campaign posters use the idea of identification to market the idea of ‘a good person.’

For example, famous celebrities are used to advertise the campaign, as they represent a type of a person to look up to. A poster from 2009 represents a picture of Finnish celebrity Heikki Paasonen. The campaign text clearly verbalises the message of identification: “Be like Heikki, volunteer as box collector.” In this example, participation in the campaign is represented as something ‘good people’ do. Therefore, if a person wants to identify as a person who does good things, they should participate in the campaign.

In a similar manner, a campaign poster from 2016 reflects the idea of identity-building: “You too can be a helper. Volunteer as box collector.” In this example, being a helper is represented as something worth aiming for, and something that other people do as well. The title of ‘helper’ is marketed for a

person who would like to see themselves as such, or who would want to be like other people. The vehicles for becoming a helper are also introduced in the poster, and these vehicles are described to be simple. It only takes participation as a volunteer box collector to become a helper.

Other campaign posters maintain the idea that becoming a helper only requires minor practical effort and the right attitude from an individual. A campaign poster from 2011 argues the following: “The willingness to help is what matters. You are prepared to give your time to help someone in need. Remind your friends of the importance of helping.” This poster offers the title of a good person to someone who is willing to help. This poster highlights the moral value of the campaign participation by using morally charged expressions such as “[willingness] is what matters”. Indeed, helping those who suffer is named as the single most valuable thing than an individual can do.

Another poster from 2018 uses the following slogan: “Care. Donate. Help.” In this poster, the identity of a helper is offered for someone who cares for others. In the poster, caring for others is associated with giving a donation. In fact, if the decision to donate is presented as the condition of becoming a helper, this further generates a doubt of whether the decision not to donate means a decision not to care. Thus, some of the campaign posters seem to present moral claims for the viewer.

Similarly, some posters almost seem to test the moral of an individual. A poster from 2006 asks the viewer to “Donate next birthday” while picturing birthday candles stuck in a seemingly dry land. Seeing this poster, an individual would perhaps think about the consequences of not donating: would someone not live long enough to see their next birthday if I choose not to donate? Similarly, a poster from 2014 suggests that something harmful could happen if an individual decides not to donate. The campaign phrase states: “Donate for Hunger Day. Keep the worst from happening”.

Therefore, some of the campaign posters highlight the moral consequences of individual actions. A campaign from 2015 explicitly argues that an individual is in charge of making morally important decisions. The posters introduce Red Cross volunteers working in the disaster areas around the world, and the poster text states: “He is already there. You decide if he can help.” Hence, the posters point to the moral responsibility of individuals. Other people are presented to suffer, and the individual consumer is presented to stand in a position to help them.

The poster from 2017 says: “Help victims of war. Refugees need water, food and shelter.” The viewer of the poster is assumed to have enough to share with those who do not have enough. A similar poster from 2016 asks to “Help for those who lost everything in a fire.” In this poster, the viewer of the poster is asked to help someone who lost all their belongings in a fire. In this argument, the moral responsibility of an individual is to help a person who has been less fortunate than they are. Thus, the

discourses in this category construct the ideas of the morally acceptable individual qualities and actions. The individual consumer is given the possibility to select what they want in a market, but they can only earn the label of ‘helper’ if they make the ethical decision.

6.1.3. Too busy to participate? Not a problem.

The third sub-category in the group constructs the idea of campaign participation from the perspective of a busy modern-day consumer. The language in this category emphasises the low cost of helping, both in terms of money and time. The frequent discourses in the category demonstrate the effortless nature of participation for the individual, building an idea of a simple and quick act. The focus is on the preferences and satisfaction of the consumer, and on the solutions that fit their individual lifestyle. The language reflects an idea of a modern-day consumer that is ultimately able and willing to give away and do their share. Although ready to help, the modern consumer is also acknowledged to be busy. Therefore, modern consumer needs effortless but rewarding ways to contribute.

These ideas are represented in the Hunger Day posters in numbers of occasions, making this sub-category one of the most substantial in terms of size. In the campaign posters, the ideas of effortless participation are explicitly reflected in the language highlighting how simple it is for an individual to contribute. A poster from 2016 gives a step-by-step introduction on how easy it is to join as a volunteer box collector, and a poster from 2005 notifies that volunteering as a box collector is easy to combine with a casual walk with friends. Donating money is portrayed as an effortless way to help, since a simple text message or a social media post can be all that is required. A campaign poster from 2015 encourages an individual to participate via social media with the following phrase: “Pay your [Hunger Day] porridge by sharing this post on Twitter or Facebook. Social media helps disaster victims.”.

Albeit a small act of generosity, contributing to the campaign can be quite rewarding for an individual. In fact, some of the campaign posters emphasise the benefits gained for the giver themselves from helping others. A poster from 2009 underlines the happiness generated for the individual from volunteering as a box collector: “Spare a few hours for fun and rewarding work, becoming a link in the large chain of aid.” Another poster from 2005 advertises volunteering as a box collector with a pleasant mental image of the action: “Grab a friend or a family member, make this Hunger Day a positive experience!” Ultimately, the campaign phrases thanking for donations (2015) and images of happy children saying “Thank you!” (1987) act to symbolize the happiness that a donation makes possible for others. Thus, getting recognition for their kindness can make a donor feel good about themselves.

Besides being simple and rewarding, the options of participating are also described to be flexible for the individual. Thus, the campaign phrases also remind the individual that they can volunteer as box collectors just as much as suits them. The campaign posters explicitly highlight how quick it is to contribute. Various campaign slogans pronounce that it only takes about one hour of an individual's time to make a difference as a volunteer box collector. A poster from 2003 promises that "Even an hour is enough." and another poster from 2011 says that "Even half an hour matters." However, if an individual can contribute a little more, the difference will be even greater. For example, a poster from the campaign of 2005 states that "You can change lives with just two hours of your time." These phrases initially promise a large effect for a small effort.

Throughout the data, similar promises seem to appear frequently. In fact, it seems rather common for the campaign phrases to maximize the expected influence of a single act. For instance, a poster from 2006 approaches the viewer with a following slogan: "Give an hour of your time to give something invaluable. Life." Overall, becoming a helper via the Hunger Day campaign is described as a simple, flexible, and quick effort for an individual, but a very effective act for its beneficiaries.

6.2. Change-maker Discourses

In the second discourse group, an individual is represented to be a change-maker. The actions of a single individual are seen powerful enough to make a difference, and even capable to change other people's lives. The campaign posters construct an idea of an individual actor as important initiator of change – perhaps the most important actor of all. Thus, an individual is understood to be an actor whose contribution is wanted, valued, and needed by others.

In the campaign posters, the Hunger Day campaign is represented to be the instrument of the change-making. This discourse group introduces three categories that regard the position of an individual from different angles. The first category represents an individual in a central position of change-making. The category is named "Your contribution is significant" and it emphasises the value of an individual actor for the success of the Red Cross aid work. The second category argues that an individual is not just an important actor, but an extremely powerful actor in change-making. This category is called "You are a superhero", and it assumes individuals to hold almost unreal capacities to change the world. The last category takes the discussion to a different direction and connects the power of an individual with the power of community. Therefore, the last category is called "You are part of a community".

6.2.1. Your contribution is significant.

This sub-category highlights the value of an individual actor for the Hunger Day campaign. In the campaign language, an individual is represented as a change-maker whose contribution is truly needed for the campaign to meet its objectives. Hence, the significance of individual actors is highlighted and their decision presented as meaningful. A person who participates in the Hunger Day campaign is argued to play a key role in the Red Cross aid work. The foundations for aid work are seen to start from individual contributions, which makes an individual a crucial actor in the process.

A poster from 2005 argues the following: “Volunteer as a box collector and become a key element in Red Cross aid.” A poster from 2007 further claims that an individual can start an entire aid project with their contribution. The poster phrase promises: “Volunteer for Hunger Day, set the aid operation in motion”. Hence, the posters place an individual actor in the very core of the entire campaign.

Throughout the data, the posters describe the value of individual participants with words such as ‘important’, ‘significant’ and ‘needed’. A poster from 2016 reminds that individuals are especially needed to join as volunteer box collectors: “Your help is needed. You too can be a helper. Volunteer as box collector”. A poster from 2002 presents a similar argument: “You are needed, even for an hour.” Hence, both examples argue that the campaign ‘needs’ individuals to participate. Moreover, the posters indicate that an individual is considered to be needed and valued as a person, since other people need their help. According to these examples, the participant can identify as ‘a helper’ and ‘a person needed by others’ if they participate in the campaign. Therefore, the arguments suggest that an individual can become an important actor by conducting important actions.

Finally, the decisions of individuals are argued to be especially significant for the people that the aid operations benefit. An individual can improve other people’s lives, and therefore it matters what they decide to do. For example, a poster from 1991 represents a close-up picture of a small child with begging eyes. The slogan in the poster states: “Your move.”. Thus, the individual is given the power to decide whether to make their move or not, but the picture reminds them that the decision is significant, since it may determine the faith of someone. The campaign slogan challenges the individual to react, and the child in the picture looks like they are waiting to hear the answer too.

Very similar arguments seem to appear elsewhere in the data. A poster from 1993 represents two children playing with each other. The campaign slogan states: “With your help.” The background of the picture is left unexplained, but the message indicates that an individual donor is playing a central

role in improving the lives of the children. The poster suggests that other people are in need, and the individual has the power to help them. Overall, individual actors are presented to have a crucial impact for the Hunger Day campaign and the people that the campaign benefits. Recognizing the significance of individual actors, the campaign posters encourage the viewer to use their potential to help others.

6.2.2. You are a superhero.

The second sub-category constructs an idea a superhero-like individual. In these campaign posters, an individual donor is called to save the people who are in danger and in need. The trust is on the individual donor, because they are presented to hold almost incredible powers to change other people's lives. According to the superhero discourses, even the smallest actions are seen to have enormous impact.

In the campaign language, simple things such as sharing a post on social media are argued to make an instant difference in other people's lives. A poster from 2015 promises the following: "Social media helps disaster victims." Therefore, an individual is seen to have the power to help, and all it takes for them is to click on a smart phone screen. Besides being able to help other people that easily, an individual is trusted to have the ability to solve some of the world's most pressing problems. A campaign poster from 2011 urges the viewer to "Collect hunger away." The footnote of the poster continues by adding: "Even half an hour matters." The expression 'to collect away the hunger' seems to refer to erasing famine in a certain area, perhaps even the entire world. An individual participant is trusted to erase the hunger, and they are promised to be able to do this with only half an hour of work. Even though the campaign may actually see an individual merely as part of the process, the language gives an impression of a single actor holding the ability to end hunger.

In a similar manner, a poster from 2010 requests: "Let them eat in peace." The slogan has a clever meaning in Finnish, since it takes the Finnish everyday expression 'to eat one's meal in peace' into a metaphor for an actual conflict situation. The message creates a direct mental connection between building peace and giving money for people to buy a meal. Even if the connection with peace-building could be there, it is hardly likely to build peace with the contribution of a single person. However, the language in the poster seems to present an individual with divine forces to control peace and war. The campaign language asks the individual actor to 'let' others to have peace, which sounds like they have the power to decide the faith of others.

Moreover, the power of an individual to control life and death is repeated in other examples as well. A poster from 2006 asks the viewer to “Donate next birthday. Volunteer as box collector”. The poster suggests that an individual volunteer can decide whether someone gets to live for another year. The subtitle continues: “Give an hour of your time to give something invaluable. Life.” This argument entails an assumption that even a minor contribution from an individual actor is as powerful as to save someone’s life. Granting the power of an individual actor, the campaign language calls for the individual superhero to save the lives of innocent people.

A poster from 2015 further suggests that an individual alone can determine the course of international aid work. The picture portrays a Red Cross volunteer in a disaster area and the campaign text says: “He is there. You decide if he can help.” Also assuming these superhero-like abilities for an individual actor, a poster from 1992 presents a direct request: “Give the means for survival. NOW!”. The message tells that someone needs to be rescued, and they need to be rescued now. The campaign picture represents the eyes of a begging child, symbolizing the victims in need of rescue.

Finally, a poster from 2012 summarizes the underlying idea of the superhero-discourse: “If you help it will be alright”. But what if an individual does not help? Is the superhero going to turn an anti-hero? All the campaign phrases in the category could be turned into such discussion. Technically, an individual could decide to save lives, but they could also decide not to.

According to the campaign phrases, the consequences of not helping could be dramatic. A poster from 2014 demonstrates the idea:” Donate for Hunger Day. Keep the worst from happening.” Thus, the decision of an individual actor is seen to have an enormous impact. If the individual decides to donate, they could save the day. However, if an individual decides not to donate, something described as ‘the worst’ thing imaginable could happen. As such, the campaign posters place a heavy responsibility for an individual actor, and a heavy sanction if the responsibility is ignored. In total, the discourses in this category represent a rather simplified idea of the processes of aid work, and an exaggerated idea of the role of an individual in it.

6.2.3. You are part of a community.

Finally, the last sub-category considers the role of an individual in relation to a wider community. In this category, an individual does not only represent themselves, but also the community they belong to. Being a part of a larger community, an individual is assumed to share a sense of belonging and mutual responsibility with other members in the community. In the Hunger Day campaign, the community consists of the people able to participate in the campaign. These people are understood to

have the ability to help someone else, and the people are encouraged to use this ability. In fact, the community needs their contribution to maximise the impact of the campaign. However, the idea of individuality is not diminished in the discourses, even when the focus is on the power of community. The campaign posters continue to highlight the essential role of an individual as a contributor to achieve greater good.

Therefore, the campaign posters speak directly to an individual to tell them to contribute in a larger movement of help. The posters ask an individual to do their part, like an example from 2005 suggests: “Give your important share to our work.” Other posters from the same year continue: “The smallest profits move us forward.” and “Every donation counts.”. Also, a slogan from 2003 states: “Helping with your help.” In these examples, individual donors are asked to give their contribution, even if it is a small one. According to the campaign posters, every contribution matters, and it can become a part of a greater good. Therefore, an individual can join the community of ‘helpers’ with a rather small effort.

Some posters also highlight that anyone can become a helper. A poster from 2009 states:” Everyone can help. Donate, become a link in the chain of aid.” The message indicates that everyone can become a helper, because every individual has the capacity to become one. However, the message suggests that the idea of ‘everyone’ here only concerns the people who can see the campaign posters. Other people are merely seen as targets of help who receive the support from the community of helpers. This idea constructs a dichotomy between ‘us’ and ‘them’.

Similar discourses become visible in other campaign posters. A poster from 2005 refers to the community with a note arguing that “Africa needs our help.” This notion explicitly determines the group of ‘us’ by using the expression ‘our help’. Hence, the position of ‘them’ is pointed to Africa where the help is argued to be needed. To some extent, the idea of ‘us’ and ‘them’ seems to be determined with geographic distance. In fact, a poster from 2006 argues the following:” Disaster fund enables quick aid to crisis zones. You can help – volunteer for Hunger Day ”. The scenery portrayed in the picture seems distant from Finland, since the picture represents a heavily dried land which appears to be cracking from severe drought. The campaign language further reveals the position of the viewer by asking them to join the ‘helpers.’

Finally, a poster from 2008 reminds that help is needed universally. The campaign phrase says: “Help wanted near and far. Participate in the aid operation.” Hence, the discourses position the individual in the wider community of helpers. Belonging to this group, individuals are asked to join the movement of help, because they can.

7. Conclusion: Charity dilemma - What sells vs. what is realistic

In this research, charity marketing was analysed from the perspective of individual campaign participation. The theoretic point of departure was on postmodern developments of individualization and marketization that have transformed the everyday arenas of social and political decision-making. Today, an increasing focus is placed on individual actors as the designers of their own lives and identities, and as political decision-makers. At the same time, the growing market-orientation has become visible in the different spheres of society: citizens are now regarded as citizen-consumers, and even the traditional non-market actors have adopted business thinking in their actions. The field of charity has marketized as well, and the ‘markets of charity’ are characterized by intensive competition between different charity organizations.

To analyse these mechanisms in action, a research data of the Finnish Red Cross Hunger Day campaign posters was evaluated in two parts. It was expected in the research that charity organizations apply strategic marketing mechanisms to attract potential donors to choose their campaigns. Evidence to support the argument was found in visual rhetoric analysis that indicated a strong emphasis on individual campaign participants, and a frequent use of visual and verbal elements to engage with the audiences. The eventual goal of the analysis was to find out how the role of the individual campaign participation was presented in the marketing posters, and the method of discourse analysis was used to answer the question. Two dominant discourses were identified in the analysis: ‘consumer discourses’ that approached campaign participation from the perspective of instant impacts of everyday decision-making, and ‘change-maker discourses’ that highlighted the more large-scale political impacts of campaign participation.

In consumer discourses, donating money and volunteering for the campaign were primarily described as everyday decisions of using money and time. The discourses were defined by choice, free will, and individual gain. Campaign participation itself was presented as a voluntary choice – although it was emphasised to be a desirable and moral choice to make. The marketing language constructed idea of a good deal: campaign participation was described as effortless, yet effective choice to make. The low costs of the action were highlighted in terms of time and money, and they were combined with the high gains of receiving personal satisfaction and aid for others. In addition, custom-made forms of participation were promoted in flexibility and freedom in determining one’s level of commitment. Furthermore, campaign participation was described as an ethical act of a moral person. Positive identification was also offered in introducing volunteers and celebrity ambassadors of the campaign.

In change-maker discourses, the impacts of individual campaign participation were the focus of the campaign language. The discourses emphasised the great benefits of donating money and volunteering, and they highlighted the role of an individual participant for the outcome of the campaign. Individual campaign participants were presented at the key position in helping others, making a difference, and even saving lives. The discourses constructed an idea of a powerful individual with a real capacity to make a visible change. The three sub-categories in the discourse group appeared to weight the impact of an individual on rather different scales. In some of the posters, the impact of a single individual for the campaign outcome was exaggerated, and the correlation between a single donation and a large-scale impact was clearly overstated. In other posters, individuals and their significance for the campaign were merely discussed in relation to a larger movement. These campaign messages noted that all contributions are valuable and that each donation counts for the success for the campaign. Overall, the importance of individual contributions for the campaign was emphasised in all the discourses.

In general, the Hunger Day marketing discourses worked at a personal level to connect with the viewer and to initiate action. Campaign participation appeared as a platform of identification, and the campaign language offered different positive roles to identify with. Sometimes the roles were explicitly mentioned in the text by naming the participant as a ‘helper’ or a ‘person who is needed by others’, and sometimes the meanings were only revealed in deeper examination. The campaign language did not emphasise any dominant identity over others, but the posters represented a selection of possible available roles for an individual participant. It appears that the campaign posters give the viewer an opportunity to interpret the message from their own viewpoint, and to determine the roles that personally resonate with them the best. Practically, the same individual could identify with various identities at the same time, or they could identify with different roles depending on their current needs in a given situation.

It is interesting to think about the meaning of these results in the broader context of charity. Scholars such as Hopgood & Vinjamuri (2012) have argued that contemporary charity organizations have started to remind business in the way they operate, and Johansson (2017) has found evidence of the occurrence of these processes in Finland. Based on their views, business principles such as ‘growth’ and ‘branding’ have become common in the field of charity. Various charity organizations operate in the ‘market of charity’, and these organizations compete with each other to maintain their position in the field. Consequently, charity organizations have also started to invest more in marketing.

In this research, it was found that the Hunger Day campaign demonstrated a range of marketized elements. The Red Cross logo and the Hunger Day name were highlighted in all of the posters, which indicated evidence of branding. The marketing rhetoric appeared intentionally thought-provoking, and the campaign slogans were simple and appealing. The campaign messages were directed personally to the viewer, and the audiences were attracted with promises of excellent results and great satisfaction. In commercial markets, similar elements can be found in the marketing of any product or item.

In addition, the campaign posters indicated a tendency to overstate the immediate impacts of giving a donation. In my interpretation, this is probably the clearest example of the commercialized marketing style in the campaign. The tendency to exaggerate the instant large-scale results of single donation almost reminds the ‘miracle workouts’ or weight losses or such that are marketed with great gain and minimum effort. In the era of endless market choices, giving a donation seems to represent the ‘miracle solution’ for those who wish to help others but are not ready to make great commitments.

These simplified marketing discourses might be effective from a business perspective, but they can also be harmful when applied in charity. There is a risk that simple stories will generate simple understandings of complex phenomenon. The nature of charity work is politically complex, but this is not visible in the stories of charity fundraising. When a donation is presented equivalent with making a large-scale impact, an unrealistic image of change-making can be created. A single euro from a single person cannot make a great difference on its own, even though the campaign language sometimes claims it can change the world. If individual donors are presented extremely powerful in making a change, they might overestimate their contribution as donors. As a result, an individual donor might feel their donation is so valuable that they have done enough for a moment. After an occasional donation, their role as a change-maker could be fulfilled, and no further actions would be needed.

Hence, simplified or unrealistic charity discourses should be critically discussed, since they might even hinder additional political activity while overstating the impact of a single fundraising contribution. Previous research on charity marketization has shared similar doubts. Wirgau, Farley and Jensen (2010) have expressed their concerns about reducing political influence-making to giving money. According to them, offering consumption as a solution for global problems suggests a simple and instant resolution which is not enough to influence the political roots of the problems. (Wirgau, Farley & Jensen 2010, 620–624.)

However, this is not to say that the Hunger Day campaign discourses would mostly promote unrealistic ideas of campaign participation. Campaign support is a real form of everyday civil society participation, and individual charity contributions can have an actual impact. Although giving money represents indirect participation in organizational activities, the campaign offers direct forms of participation as well. An alternative option is to volunteer as a box collector, which entails a concrete possibility to contact with other people and to encourage them to participate as well. In addition, anyone can promote the campaign on social media in attempt to influence others. At its best, these experiences can generate positive ideas of participation that could further lead to more committed forms of active civil society participation.

Scholars such as Ulrich Beck (2002) and Stolle and Micheletti (2013) have shared the same perspectives on the benefits of individual decision-making. According to their perspectives, the strength of individual decision-making is in the empowerment of which small political actions can generate in an individual. Even though the political impact of a single act would be trivial for the world, it may be of great significance for the people themselves. A person might feel that they are doing something to change the world - something that could even have global consequences. Hence, promoting the capacities of individuals could encourage people to further action. (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim 2002, 44; Stolle & Micheletti 2013, 32–33.) Reflecting these views, giving money to charity could be connected to the acts of political consumerism in which people make individual choices to express themselves in the markets to initiate political change. Believing in one's own ability to make a change is the precondition for any political action, and that is why the capabilities of individual people should be highlighted.

Finally, it should be noted the Hunger Day campaign language is not only individual-centred. The power of a larger donor community is emphasised as well, although with less volume. In my interpretation, the findings suggest a dilemma between giving realistic promises and doing effective fundraising. To represent communities as primary change-makers would be more realistic, but it is probably not as effective marketing strategy as the focus on individuals. Personalized messages are easy to notice, whereas the references to a community may easily remain distant.

If expected to work, the 'communities' should be clearly defined, and there should be a sense of community among the members. A sense of community can be difficult to gain with the obscure group of campaign audiences across the country. Consequently, if the viewer does not identify with the idea of community, referring to 'common responsibility' could be regarded as 'someone else's responsibility'. In addition, if the sense of community is merely created with the dichotomy of 'givers'

and ‘receivers’ of help, the problem of reinforcing hierarchical global relationships occurs. For future campaigns, the Finnish Red Cross could experiment new approaches to strengthen the idea of community in the campaign marketing language. Acknowledging the position of the Finnish Red Cross as the biggest actor in the field, the example that they show would be most likely noticed in other organizations as well.

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